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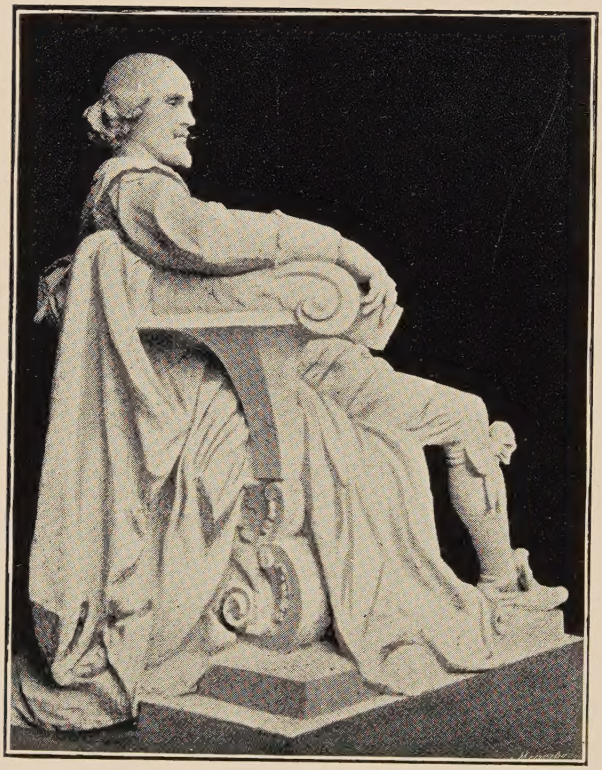

SEATED STATUE OF SHAKSPERE

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HOW FALSTAFF BROUGHT HOLINSHED UP TO DATE

By MARION A. TAYLOR

FALSTAFF would not be Falstaff were he not making a travesty of battle. Before Shrewsbury, he conscripts only the most cowardly recruits as a means of receiving their bribes. The pitiful remainder he intends to submit to heavy firing so that he, as captain, may pocket their dead pay. Once on the battlefield, he feigns death rather than fight a hand to hand battle with the enemy Douglas. He stabs again the lifeless body of Hotspur to make doubly sure, and then bears the harmless corpse upon his back to claim the glory of killing this fiercest of the rebels. Therefore, when rebellion raises its head in the North (*II Henry IV*) we look for "new merry conceits" from the fat knight.

We are not disappointed. He marches from London to Yorkshire by way of Gloucestershire and arrives at his destination when the battle is over.[1] Just as he makes his appearance, it is his good fortune to meet an escaping rebel, who, when Falstaff pompously demands his name, meekly replies,

> I am a knight, sir; and my name is Colvile of the dale.[2]

The fat rogue, ever bold when he has nothing to fear, roars his denunciation:

> Well, then, Colvile is your name, a knight is your degree, and your place the dale; Colvile shall be still your name, a traitor your degree, and the dungeon your place, a place deep enough; so shall you be still Colvile of the dale.[3]

Later, when Prince John of Lancaster reproves the old knight for his tardiness, he replies with immortal humor:

> I would be sorry, my lord, but it should be thus: I never knew yet but rebuke and check was the reward of valour . . . I have speeded hither with the very extremest inch of possibility; . . . and here, travel-tainted as I am, have, in my pure and immaculate valour, taken Sir John Colvile of the dale, a most furious knight and valorous enemy. But what of that? he saw me, and yielded; that I may justly say, with the hook-nosed fellow of Rome, I came, saw, and overcame." . . . I beseech your grace, let it be booked with the rest of this day's deeds; or, by

[1] *Cf. II Henry IV,* IV, iii, 27.
[2] IV, iii, 4.
[3] IV, iii, 5-10.

> the Lord, I will have it in a particular ballad else, with mine own picture on the top on't, Colvile kissing my foot:[4]

Certainly the wit is enough to make the scene delicious comedy today, and very few would ever trouble to inquire further into the identity of Sir John Colvile. For those curious few who wish to glance beyond the play, however, there seems to be an opportunity for dusting off an Elizabethan joke.

Sir John Colvile of the Dale is mentioned in Holinshed's *Chronicles*:

> After the king, accordinglie as seemed to him good, had ransomed and punished by greeuous fines the citizens of Yorke (which had borne armour on their archbishops side against him) he departed frō Yorke . . . At his coming to Durham, the Lord Hastings, the lord Fauconbridge, sir Iohn Colleuill of the Dale, and sir Iohn Griffith, being conuicted of the conspiracie, were there beheaded.[5]

This, to be sure, is historical authority, but somehow it does not seem very satisfying. Out of four traitors, why should Falstaff vanquish none but Colvile? Could the selection have been purely accidental when Shakspere had left his apprentice years behind him? Did the mere euphony of the words attract the ear of Shakspere about to compose a scene entirely prose? What was the inspiration for many details not even remotely suggested by Holinshed? With such questions unsolved, it is startling to turn to the annals of Elizabethan England and Scotland, and discover a notorious Scotch rogue—an intriguer, a rebel and a spy whose name was John Colville.[6]

The life of the Elizabethan John Colville makes reading as exciting as that of any picaro who helped to add glamour to the history of old Spain. Curiously enough, this decadent member of a really noteworthy old Scottish family began his infamous career as a Presbyterian minister, being parson of the little Scotch village of Kilbride in Clydesdale in 1567,

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[4] IV, iii, 30 f.

[5] (1808), III, 38.

[6] There is, to be sure, no indication that Colville in the play is Scotch, but neither is he specifically designated as English. The battle takes place in Yorkshire, near the Scotch border, and the Scotch was leagued with the rebels (Cf. *II. Henry IV,* IV, iv, 96). At any rate, since the Elizabethan Colville was a Borderland figure, the argument of this paper is not jeopardized.

and chantor or precentor of Glasgow two years later. He seems to have prospered for a time in the Lord's calling, for by 1574 we find him preaching in no less than four Scotch parishes, which reaped him the tidy sum of two hundred pounds yearly. Furthermore, in 1572 he married Janet Russell, the daughter of an advocate of some note. Thus far the wolf had worn his lamb's clothing well, but it was not long before he began to peep too boldly through the disguise. Complaints were made several times in the general assembly about his non-residence and neglect of his churches. Matters went from bad to worse until he was presently at the point of excommunication. It is not surprising, therefore, that he soon after deserted the ministry.

Colville was drawn like a magnet to the turbulent court of Scotland, where, during the detention of Queen Mary in England, fierce nobles, lusting for power, rose and fell over night, where murder and intrigue seethed continually, and where James, first at the mercy of one and then of another powerful lord, tried to weave the best he might from the tangled skein. Here the one-time divine launched upon a double career of politician and spy. With smooth and subtle art, he ingratiated himself at court, where he not only gained the appointment of Master of Requests, but also secretly contracted to furnish information to Robert Bowes, English ambassador to Scotland. In this last despicable capacity, Colville was to serve England for many years to come.[7]

After the impulsive Catholic, the Earl of Morton, flashed and fell like a meteor at the Scottish court, Colville attached himself to the Protestant Earl of Gowrie, who came to the fore. In August, 1582, that reckless leader, with Colville and others, carried out a daring plan. They captured the King, wary though he was, and held him a prisoner at Ruthven Castle, near Perth, one of the country seats of Gowrie.[8]

As the months dragged wearily on for James, the Gowrie faction was trying to make terms with Queen Elizabeth, to

[7] Thompson Cooper, article "John Colville," DNB.
[8] *Ibid.*, and Andrew Lang, *A History of Scotland* (1902), II, 285.

whom it looked for chief support. At this time, John Colville made what was apparently his first appearance in London. He was selected by his party twice to accompany one Colonel Stewart and treat with the Queen the winter and spring of 1583. Elizabeth commended Gowrie for his apprehension of James, but, as usual, she made only meagre response to demands for money. Colville waxed eloquent when he pointed out that his friends had no means of paying the three hundred guards surrounding the King, and that without such precautions James could not be held a prisoner. But all his appeals were in vain. Both times the diplomats returned to Scotland with nothing accomplished.[9]

Soon after, James escaped from Ruthven Castle, and the conspirators were brought to trial. Colville, with his usual duplicity, must have succeeded in convincing the King that his share in the raid was meagre, for he regained his liberty and obtained a three-year license to travel anywhere but in England and Ireland.

Another might have paid attention to the royal edict, but not John Colville. He immediately withdrew to forbidden England, later to London itself, thereby forfeiting his license and his former offices in Scotland.[10] Colville met Ambassador Bowes at Berwick, and took the leading rôle in the organization of another Gowrie plot to seize the King. The plans went well, and April 19, 1584, was set as the date of the rebellion. Elizabeth was pressed to support the party she had before deserted, and she partially promised to do so. Then the blow fell. Knowledge of the conspiracy had been whispered to James, and he, at the head of an army of 12,000 men, marched against the rebels. The leaders fled over the Border, Bowes frantically begged the King's pardon, and Gowrie later was executed.[11] But the real instigator of the plot, the wily John Colville, escaped.

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[9] William Law Mathieson, *Politics and Religion* (1902), I, 228. See also Lang, *op. cit.*, II, 290-1.

[10] Cooper, *loc. cit.*, and see letters dated from London, April 16, and May 2, 1584, *Original Letters of Mr. John Colville, 1582-1603*, intro. by David Laing, Bannatyne Club, 1858, 47-51.

[11] Lang, *op. cit.*, II, 296 f.

Two years later we find that calculating politician not only back in Scotland, but seemingly enjoying the royal favor, "for in two special grants by the king (November, 1586) he continues to be styled chantor of Glasgow, and payment is ordered of three years' arrears of his pension as master of requests." Nor was this the least of the good fortune which came to him during these halcyon days. "On June 2, 1587, he was admitted a senator of the College of Justice in the room of his uncle, Alexander Colville, commendator of the Abbey of Culross, but in less than three weeks he resigned his seat on the bench 'in favour of his uncle foresaid'. In the same year he was returned to the Scottish parliament as commissioner for the borough of Stirling." Soon after, he was employed as a collector of the taxes granted by parliament to the King for his marriage.[12] In 1589, Colville was sent by the King to London not only to convince Elizabeth of the advisability of his intended marriage with the Danish princess, but also to purchase "his Majesties clething and utheris necessaris" such as "playte and some uther howseholde stuffe for the Kingis use".[13]

It was in the 1590's that Colville's intriguing came to the fore and his final misfortunes began. Likewise, it was during this period that this colorful history became closely associated with England through his attachment to that madcap harrier of the King, Francis Stewart Hepburn, fifth Earl of Bothwell. In order to understand Colville's activities during his later career, we must first review the fortunes of this Earl. Successor to the lands and title of Mary's Bothwell, he was not unlike that royal husband in disposition. Witty, gay, reckless, the fifth Earl had a charm that won him not only many followers, but the affection of Queen Anne herself. Like Colville, his name had been associated with the Raid of Ruthven, and later he made himself notorious at court by his quarrels with the old enemy of Gowrie, the Earl of Arran. In April, 1591, he was imprisoned on a charge of witchcraft, but he later found a means of escape, and withdrew to his Border fastness, like

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12 Cooper, *loc. cit.*

13 *Letters of John Colville,* xxi, 248.

a hero in an old ballad. Here he defied capture, and plagued James with impudent sallies that reveal his boyish recklessness. For example, while the royal court was holding a session at Tolbooth, Bothwell, with gay bravado, carried off a witness from the very presence of the King himself. Only a few days before, his majesty is said to have fled and hidden in a skinner's shop during a street brawl between Lennox and the "wanton laird of Logie", an intimate of Bothwell.[14]

Colville, ever at hand when there were matters of treachery brewing, pressed to the side of Bothewll in the cold winter twilight of December 27, 1591, when the Earl and his retainers lurked in the stables of a friend until after nightfall and then broke into Holyrod House, the castle of the King. Straightway, the insurgents tried to burn down the door of James' chamber, and beat with hammers upon the apartment of the Queen. Fortunately for the King, the town was aroused by the uproar in the castle, and citizens turned out to save him. Only a few minor assailants were captured, however, and both Bothwell and Colville escaped.[15]

The records grow dim on the subject of Colville during the next year,[16] although we find James much agitated over the rumor that the rogue had "ridden into Ingland towardes the Court ther".[17] It is safe to assume that he aided Bothwell in more mad adventures. When Parliament declared his life forfeit, that Earl retaliated in June, 1592, by attempting to capture James at Falkland. He was unsuccessful, however, and fled to the English Marches, where he was entertained by the English Captain of Bewcastle. Elizabeth herself was cordially disposed toward the outlaw, for she regarded him as a "card to be played at the fitting moment, just as she had held Murray, Morton, Angus, and the other foes of Mary and James."[18] It was in vain that,

[14] See Lang, *op. cit.,* II, 394-5, 373-4, 286, 353, and *passim;* T. F. Henderson, article "Francis Stewart Hepburn," *DNB.*

[15] Lang, *op. cit.,* II, 355. See also James Melville, *Memoirs,* Bannatyne Club, 1827, 397-401, and *Letters of John Colville,* 251.

[16] See Cooper, *loc. cit.,* and *Letters of John Colville,* xxii.

[17] *Ibid.,* 253.

[18] Lang, *op. cit.,* II, 361-2.

during the fall and winter of 1592, James reproached Elizabeth for harbouring one who had attempted his life.

In the meantime, Bothwell was weaving new nets with which to trap James. He was in friendly communication with Cecil, and Elizabeth approved of his plans.[19] In the organization of this latest plot, Colville took a leading rôle. Although there was no mention this time of definitely seizing the King, the outlaws planned to threaten him until they were granted full pardon. Colville and Bothwell on a night of late July, 1593, succeeded in stealing into the apartment of the King. The exciting scene is described by Andrew Lang:

> The house of the Gowries was behind and adjacent to the Palace of Holyrood, and thither on the night of July 23 Bothwell, with the basely adventurous John Colville, was secretly conveyed. Between the Gowrie mansion and the palace was a covered passage patent at all times. Coming through this passage, from the palace, Lady Atholl led back Bothwell and Colville into James' ante-chamber, hid them behind the arras, and locked the door of the queen's chamber. Here, it seems probable, they waited while the gentlemen of the clan of Stewart took possession of the outer and inner courts of Holyrod in the grey of the July dawn. James, early astir, was "private in a retiring-room," his Majesty's clothes were loose, and "the points of his hose not knotted up," when Colville and Bothwell appeared before him with drawn swords in their hands. Bothwell said to the king, "Lo, my good bairn, you that have given out that I sought your life, it is now in this hand!" . . . James, with a cry of treason, fled as well as he could to the queen's chamber. The door was locked. He turned and called the intruders false traitors, bidding them strike if they durst. Bothwell and Colville knelt down, Atholl and Ochiltree arrived and interceded for the impudent suppliants. James derided their pretence of asking for forgiveness and offered to "thole an assize" on the old charge of witch-craft. He would not live a prisoner and dishonoured. Bothwell, still kneeling, kissed the hilt of his sword and offered it to James, lowering his head and tossing aside his long love-locks. James rose and took Bothwell apart into the embrasure of a window.[20]

Although James dismissed those men who would have come to his aid, saying he would treat with the rebels himself, he was nevertheless a prisoner. A new royal guard was exchanged for the old one, under the command of Ochiltree,

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[19] *Ibid.*, 365.

[20] *Ibid.*, 371-3. See also *Letters of John Colville*, 254-258.

[21] Lang, *op. cit.*, II, 373-4. For Colville's wish to be Secretary see also *Letters of John Colville*, 264.

one of the conspirators. The King promised to pardon Bothwell.

In the meantime Bothwell rode to Berwick, where he met John Carey (son of the Lord Chamberlain of England and patron of Shakspere's theatrical company) and confided to him the high aspirations of himself and Colville. Bothwell hoped to be made "Lord Lieutenant of the whole country" of Scotland, while the rogue Colville sought no less a position than the Secretaryship of State. To foster such ambitions, Bothwell wrote a letter to Elizabeth, " 'Most Renowned Empress', kissing 'her heavenly hands.' Had he been born in England, Bothwell would have rivalled Essex —he knew how to write in the 'style that Gloriana loved.' "[21] James, however, as usual, freed himself from the meshes of the conspirators and their hopes were dashed to earth.[22] The pardon so treacherously gained was of little avail, for the Scottish Parliament on June 8, 1594, pronounced Bothwell, his countess, one James Douglas of Spott, and "Mr. John Colville of Strathurdie" outlaws.[23]

Colville was fortunate to gain the aid of his English friends at this time. Ambassador Bowes in a letter to Burleigh dated August 18, 1593, called attention to the need of Colville's being "comforted and relieved with hir Majesty's bounty." 'I fynde (he says) his estait so worne and overcharged with th' expences of his late troubles, *wherein he is not lyke to be hastely relieved by anye advancement in this realme.*"[24] Likewise Bowes requested one George Nicholson, an Englishman on a visit to the Lord Treasurer, to inquire "Wher Mr. John Colvill remayneth ready for her Majestie's service, with expectation of some relief by her Majestie in his distressed estate, promising to accomplish especiall and profitable offices for her Majestie; therefor pray that I may know what comfort to give him, and how to deale with him, and that upon her Majesties gratuitie to be granted to him he may be ymployed in necessary offices."[24]

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22 Lang, *op. cit.*, II, 376.

23 *Letters of John Colville,* xxiii-xxiv.

24 *Ibid.*, xxiv.

By 1595, James and Elizabeth had come to friendly terms, and Bothwell, banished from Scotland, was ordered to leave England as well. He raged and threatened for a time, and then joined the Catholic lords, at the same time adopting their religion. Entangled as Colville was in the meshes of Protestant England, it is not surprising to find that rogue forsaking his old leader when he turned Catholic.[25] The admonitions which the unscrupulous adventurer at this time addressed to Bothwell, with an eye to Elizabeth and James, are worthy of the witty calculations of Sir John Falstaff. "In September Colville had to report that 'unhappy Bothwell' was not running a straight course with Elizabeth, but was off to meet Huntly [a Catholic lord]. This deeply grieved a professor so earnest as Colville, who could only hope that 'the Lord would send light out of darkness.' So sincere a Protestant as Colville could no longer be a partner with one who had joined himself unto idols. He went to Edinburgh on September 12 and wrote a letter of farewell to his old master. The Earl had openly said that Colville meant to betray him [which we are to see was true] and Colville was hurt. But he had got Bothwell cleared of 'the odious imputation of witchcraft,' he said; and who but he had given tone to Bothwell's enterprises in general? Colville had often hazarded his body for this ungrateful patrician, 'but God only knows how far I hazarded my conscience in making black white and darkness light for your sake.' That was what Colville felt most bitterly. He therefore proposed to seek James' pardon, 'spending the rest of my days quietly in the fear of that gracious and omnipotent lord,' with other canting phrases. To James next did Colville write, likening himself to a dead dog, and addressing the king as 'Oh, Glory of Albion!' He quoted Ovid and the Bible, and rather impiously likened James to the Founder of Christianity. He simply wallowed in remorse and abject apology. He reported to Cecil the shameful backsliding of Bothwell."[26] This from the artful dodger who, at the turn of the century, was himself expediently to profess Catholicism!

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[25] Lang, *op. cit.*, II, 389, and Cooper, *loc. cit.*

[26] Lang, *op. cit.*, II, 390 and see *Letters of John Colville*, 126.

To gain the favor of James, Colville involved himself in an action which constitutes one of the darkest blots on his whole career. He betrayed Hercules Stewart, the natural brother of Bothwell, to the King. Let us read the account of a fellow Scotchman:

> In the meane tyme, that the King urgeth the Presbyteri of Edinburgh to excommunicate Bothwell, Hercules Stewart, his base brother, William Sym, his servant, and ane called Trotter, who were taken by meanes of William Hume, *but not without the treacherie of Mr Johne Colvill,* a deserter of his Ministrie, and after an apostat from religioun. *He proposed to Hercules safetie of his life, which was not keeped, and therefore turned to his great disgrace and discredit.* And so much the rather was he suspected, because it was thought he had furnished dittay against some latelie executed.[27]

Hercules Stewart was hanged publicly on the streets of Edinburgh on February 18, 1595. Nor was this all. In a letter of December 3, 1594, we learn that Colville offered to betray Bothwell himself to the English.[28]

While such base actions deservedly brought the contempt of the Scotch public down upon Colville's head, they renewed the favor of the King. That monarch wrote of him to the English ambassador, Bowes, "We have turned our displeasour in compassion," and refers to his having given "honest pruif of his unfeinyit repentance, *be his laite action against some of the principalls who offendit in the same degree, as he did.*"[29] So completely had Colville convinced the King that he had severed all connections with Bothwell, that James sent him to London in 1595 to confer with Elizabeth about the Earl and "other matteris".[30]

In the varying fortunes at the Scottish court, where men bobbed like corks in rough water, now riding the waves, now plunged below the surface, Colville maintained, for a time, the vacillating favor of the King. On July 30, 1596, James instructed one David Foullis to "disburss for Mr Johnne Colvill three hundreth pundis sterling, ffor quhilk he hath engaged his credit. And sens it standis Ws in honour to see him pait of the same, These ar thairfoir to let yow

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[27] Calderwood's *History,* V, 364, quoted in *Letters of John Colville,* xxv-xxvi.
[28] *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland,* II, 667.
[29] *Letters of John Colville,* xxvi, and see 143-4.
[30] See Colville's letter to Bowes, April 23, 1595 and his letter directed from London on July 14, 1595, *Letters of John Colville,* 155, 165-6.

understand that it is our will and pleasour."[31] Characteristically, Colville was at the same time betraying the secrets of James to his enemies. His letters at this period, addressed chiefly to Robert Bowes and Sir Robert Cecil, whom the spy affectionately calls 'his Mecenas', evince his desire to render acceptable service to her Majesty, and at the same time nurture the King's good will. In one fawning missive to Cecil, Colville "hopes that his communications to the ambassador have been acceptable" and he "begs advice, that he may fall into no error."[32] A month later, he expresses satisfaction at her Majesty's liking of his (Colville's) services.[33] To be sure, he is continually complaining of his lack of reimbursement,[34] but there is little variation in the monotonous profession of devotion to her Majesty.

When Shakspere was contemplating the writing of *II Henry IV,* the wily Scot was attempting to insinuate himself into the good graces of both Sir Robert and Cecil and his political rival, Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex. From a letter addressed to Cecil, in July, 1597, we find that Colville was then at the Hague, negotiating official business for James, but characteristically he offered to do spying at the same time for both Cecil and Queen Elizabeth. The letter to Cecil shows both his fluency and his treachery:

> Ryght Honorabill, My humbill service remembred.
>
> Being with his Majesties good lycking, under his hand and Gret Seall, cum to Holand for my lefull effaris, yit acknowleging a speciall obligacion thair, botth for savtie of my lyif and supplye of my necessiteis at sundry times heirtofor by hir majesties gratius goodnes, procured by your meanis, if I shuld not carry with me, whidder soever fortouns shuld cary me, ane unchangabill mind to hir Majestie or to your self, since I esteme your Honour my only directer and Mecenas. Assuring your L. this much, if it be your plesour, I continue intelligence (which now, in this place, I may do without suspition), that I am boyth willing and habill to do good service; for I am in cumpany whar I may, without offens, try thingis which your awin patriottis can not so pertinently do. As ever it be imployit, or not imployit, my hart shalbe Englis, and my person subject to your lawis, if I deall unfaythfullie.[35]

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[31] *Ibid.,* 193-4.
[32] *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland,* II, 671.
[33] *Ibid.,* 673.
[34] *Ibid.,* 677, 694.
[35] *Letters of John Colville,* 194-5.

In spite of his elaborate promises of faithfulness to Cecil, Colville for almost two years, 1597-9, relayed gossip to the Earl of Essex. The secret nature of the letters is evidenced by the fact that they are in code.[36] Colville was not slow to emphasize the dangers he had incurred by spying, and stressed his fear of being caught.[37] As usual, he made professions of poverty and pleas for money.[38] There were the customary effusive promises of loyalty. "I shall stand answerable upon my life to give timeous information, so that, for the Scottish practices with the enemy, I shall, if you please, be your only sentinel," he wrote to Essex in a letter of April 21, 1598.[39] He revealed his oily practices in a letter to the Earl's secretary, Reynolds, in which he outlined his plans for gathering confidential Spanish information:

> In the mean time I shall insinuate myself in favour with Philip's instruments abroad, as both I shall furnish you with new matter whereupon to feed him, and make you in season informed with their designs, being in good hope either to draw some of their negociators to my opinion, or else to trap their packets by the way.[40]

Thus did Colville, that most notorious spy of Scotland, of whom the Bishop of Durham had written to Cecil in 1595, "He has at charge and peril, continued the best intelligence of any of that nation,"[41] try to serve two English masters, Cecil and his rival, the Earl of Essex.

Furthermore, as Shakspere was penning with "swift flowing art" the martial escapades of Falstaff in *II Henry IV*,[42] Colville was destitute, treading the very streets of London. He had come primarily to interview Cecil, but the Secretary was absent on a mission to France. He appealed instead to Henry Lock, a poet-spy employed by Cecil,[43] who forwarded the news that the base adventurer, now reconciled to Bothwell, offered to work treachery against the King:

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[36] *Salisbury Manuscripts,* London, 1899, VIII and IX, *passim.*
[37] *Ibid.,* VIII, 365.
[38] *Ibid.,* VIII, 144.
[39] *Ibid.,* VIII, 139. See also IX, 50-51.
[40] *Ibid.,* VIII, 473.
[41] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* 1595-7, 76.
[42] See evidence for dating the play 1598 or early 1599 in *Second Part of King Henry the Fourth,* ed. by R. P. Cowl, xv ff.

I have had conferens with Mr. John Coluil, the scope wherof tendeth,—

1. To signify his mishap, at his last being in Ingland, to find your Honor absent in France, and myself in the North, which forsed his ouertur and direction of adres by any other than your Honor, to whom, by many especial fauours, he is eternally bownd.

2. To offer his future seruis, and especially to craue your Honoris presens and conferens.

3. To showe, by many resons, the inconvenients growing to hir Majesty by furnishing the King with mony at this or any time; as also, discoradgment of hir friends, &c.

4. That, with litel more cost, he should be forsed to discouer him openly, and thereby lose the menes he now hath couertly to hurt; and that suffisient able actors ar yet in Scotland to direct sutch a cours, and perform it.

5. To offer to procure the publik disgrase of the Scotish Bishop of Glasco, Imbassitor in France, by the State itself there.

6. To excuse his first fall from Bothwel, his late reconsilment with him in France, and showing the use of Bothwel's seruis offered in Spain or Italy, to which land they chefly conferd . . . [44]

By 1599 Colville had again returned to London, for in August of that year his wife went by sea to the English capital to meet him.[45]

In the meantime, Colville's presence in London bade fair to become a bone of contention between Elizabeth and James. Colville had again fallen out with the King, and correspondence of the time reveals the monarch's anger and his hatred of Colville. On June 12, 1598, Aston wrote to Cecil, "I here no more of Archball Douglas soutt [suit]. The King sayes, he is one knave, and Mr. Jhon Colven another. We here that Mr Jhon has kist her Majeste's hand."[46] In August, Elizabeth had accused James of harbouring offensive Irish rebels. That monarch replied that they were not in the kingdom, and added "that if they were . . . why might not they go as well in Edinborogh stretes

[43] See article "Hery Lok, Lock or Locke", *DNB.*

[44] *Letters of John Colville,* 291. Since this letter is dated December 3, 1598, we may argue that Colville was in London at an earlier date. Some time must have elapsed for the spy to have been in the English capitol, sought for Cecil and then travelled north to meet Lock. The correspondence quoted below indicates that Colville may have been in London in June, 1598 or earlier. The letters to Essex stop between June 4 and September 4, 1598. See *Salisbury Manuscripts,* VIII, 193-329).

[45] *Letters of John Colville,* xxxviii.

[46] *Ibid.,* 289.

as Bothwell and Mr. John Colvill in London?"[47] As late as January, 1599, the King was still furious about the Colville situation, as a letter of Nicolson to Cecil reveals:

> The King is aduertised that Mr John Colvill is at London, and that he made advertisement that the King sent for Mr. James Gordon and Mr. William Creichton, and others, to come to convert his people, with other thinges, to slander and wronge the K. with. And the K. heares he is well entertayned there, . . . My Lord Secretary saies the K. marvaills, and is not well pleased that suche bad and evill persons should be so treated ever in England, being the King's rebells.[48]

He further stated that it would be "very mete that the King have some saissfaction anent Mr John Coluill's earandes . . . for he is wonderfull jealouse" over his being entertained in England.[49] Cecil, to be sure, denied Colville's presence in England, "negotiatinge with any of her Majesties Counsell" upon his "honnour and creditt", while the Queen scorned "to gewe creditt, or suffer any dealinges, with any soe turbulent humours";[50] but we cannot doubt that the arch-intriguer was in London sometime in 1598, probably the summer or early autumn, and again in 1599.

Colville's closing years may be sketched hurriedly. In 1600, he was in Paris, an old man forsaken by both Scotch and English, "in as wofull and comfortless case as the Israelites wer into whenas they fled from Egypt; for whidersoever I could turn my eyes, was no thing but the fearfull image of Death, my enemies invading, my friends forsaking me." A Catholic countryman on the continent befriended him and induced him to embrace the Romish religion. Colville tried again to win the favor of James,[51] and to spy for various foreign officials, but his efforts were feeble and ill paid. Finally came his death in November, 1605. No more fitting epitaph could be found for this infamous rebel and spy than the account from the gossipy Dudley Carleton to John Chamberlain:

> Old John Colvill, that busy-brain'ed Scot, who troubled our King so much in consorte with the Earl Bothwell, having an ambition to be made Chancellor of Scotland, and ever since lived in exile, *is dead in this towne* (Paris), *within few dayes,* in great want and misery.[52]

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[47] *Ibid.,* 290.
[48] *Ibid.,* 291-2.
[49] *Ibid.,* 292.
[50] *Ibid.,* 292-3.
[51] *Ibid.,* xxvii-xxix.
[52] *Ibid.,* xxxviii.

With the facts of this basely adventurous rogue's career before us, let us consider the ease with which Scotch allusions found their way into English literature of the period.

The satire of several non-dramatic works published in England in the 1590's gravely offended James. Edmund Spenser was fond of commenting upon contemporary events and persons in the guise of story. Of course, Elizabeth was flattered to find herself not only the Faerie Queen, but several other charming personages as well. Poor James of Scotland did not fare so well. In a letter dated the 12th of November, 1596, Bowes complained to Burghley:

> Great offence hath been conceived by the King against Master Edmund Spenser, for publishing in print, in the second part of the *Fairy Queen,* Chapter 9, some dishonourable effects, as the King deemeth, against himself and his mother deceased. I have satisfied his Majesty about the privilege under which the book is published, yet he still desireth that Edmund Spenser, for this fault, may be duly tried and punished.[53]

Nor was Spenser the only offender. One Barnaby Rich may have said adieu to the army with a collection of stories entitled *A Soldier's Farewell to the Military Profession,* but he seems to have taken up new cudgels in a battle of books. George Nicolson deplored to Bowes on June 18, 1595, that

> In the conclusion of a book called "Rich his Farewell," printed in 1594, such matter is noted as the King is not pleased with; he says little but thinks the more.[54]

The soldierly Barnaby, however, lowered his colors when James assumed the throne of England. In the 1606 edition of *The Farewell* he found it politic to substitute "Constan-

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[53] *Calendar of State Papers, Scotland,* I, xxii-xxiii. The "great offence" was probably a reflection on James' mother in Book V, Canto, where the allegory is fairly plain:

> Then was there brought as prisoner to the barre,
> A ladie of great contenance and place,
> But that she it with foule abuse did marre
> Yet did appear rare beautie in her face,
> But blotted with condition vile and base,
> That all her other honour did obscure,
> And title of nobilitie deface;
> Yet in that wretched semblant she did sure
> The people's great compassion unto her allure.

[54] *Ibid., II,* 683.

tinople" for "Scotland" and "The Turke" for "the King".[55] Barnabay Rich's fellow-townsman was likewise suspected by the King of Scots. George Nicolson informed Bowes in a letter of December 29, 1595, that the Lord of Errol had sent the King a book which offended that monarch. Walter Quin, an Irish poet greatly favoured at the Court of Scotland, identified the author as Henry Constable.[56] Thus did James take exception to certain books which were among the most popular in London.

It was on the Elizabethan stage, however, that humor at the expense of the ill-mannered, uncouth, ugly James held sway. He must have screwed his face into "more augmentation than the new map of the Indies" as he read in Greene's *James IV* (produced before 1592, and printed in 1598) satire so pointed as to be insulting.

> In the year 1520 was in Scotland a king over-ruled with parasites, misled by lust, and many circumstances too long to trattle on now, much like our court of Scotland this day.[57]

Too bluntly plain must have been the play which brought from the English agent at Scotland this remonstrance of April 15, 1598.

> It is regretted that the comedians of London should scorn the King and the people of this land in their play; and it is wished that the matter be speedily amended lest the King and the country be stirred to anger.[58]

In November, 1599, the Scotch clergy sputtered about the insults offered their monarch by a group of English comedians playing in Edinburgh. The testimony of one Robert Bruce is significant.

> We heard that the comedians in their playes checked your royall person with secreit and indirect taunte and checkes; and there is not a man of honour in England would give suche fellowes so muche as their countenance.[59]

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[55] *Ibid.*, xxii.

[56] *Ibid.*, 700-702.

[57] Quoted by Richard Simpson, "The Political Use of the Stage in Shakspere's Time", *Transactions of the New Shakspere Society*, 1874, Ser. 1, No. 2, 384. See also Edith Rickert, "Political Propaganda and Satire in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*", *Modern Philology, Nov.*, VTBC, XXI, 142, n. 1.

[58] *Calendar State Papers, Scotland*, II, 749.

[59] Calderwood's *History of the Kirk of Scotland*, V, 765-67, quoted in Rickert, *loc. cit.*, 141.

During the last years of the sixteenth century and the early years of the next, the number of barbed shafts aimed at James in the drama must have been growing, as an incident of 1603 makes clear. When the commissioners from Dublin arrived at Cork to proclaim James king, the mayor and council at first refused, saying "they had no fancy for such haste in proclaiming the King of Scots; they knew well that the very stage-players in England jeered at him for being the poorest prince in Christendom."[60] Almost climactic is the report made by the French ambassador in 1604 about the sport of the comedians at the expense of James.

> Consider, for pity's sake, what must be the state and condition of a prince whom the preachers publicly from the pulpit assail—whom the comedians of the metropolis bring upon the stage—whose wife attends these presentations to enjoy the laugh against her husband—whom the Parliament braves and despises, and who is universally hated by the whole people.[61]

With this satire aimed at Scotland and King James himself before us, let us revert the argument back to Shakspere and John Colville. We may be sure of one point. No red-blooded dramatist would hesitate to cast jibes at a Scotch rogue, when the honor of the king was so cheap. Whether or not Shakspere had Colville in mind when he wrote his scene, we cannot definitely say. Let us recall the arguments in favor of it, however. Out of four conspirators in Holinshed, Shakspere chose only one. Any person selected to serve as a foil to that "father ruffian", Jack Falstaff, immediately became identified as a humorous subject, and consideration of Colville by the English public must have been far from serious. Furthermore, the picturesque career of the dishonourable intriguer was known to the London public because of his various sojourns in the English marches, his associations with the madcap Bothwell, his almost ludicrous duplicity as far as James was concerned, and his various visits to London itself. We have already seen Colville's

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[60] Dorothea Townshend, *Life and Letters of the Great Earl of Cork,* 1904, 34 ff., quoted in Rickert, *loc. cit.,* 141.

[61] Von Raumer, *The Political History of the English during the 16th, 17th, and 18th Centuries,* 1837, I, 458; also *Notes and Queries* (3rd series) V, 451, quoted in Rickert, *loc. cit.,* 140. For further boldness of the players in the reign of James, see Vilginia Gildersleeve, *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama,* Columbia University, 1908, 100 f.; and T. S. Graves, "The Political Use of the Stage During the Reign of James I", *Anglia,* 1914, XXXVIII, 137-156.

connection with George Carey, the son of the Shaksperian company's patron. At the time Shakspere was writing his play, Colville, who had just been furnishing information to the Earl of Essex, was destitute in London, soliciting employment from Cecil. He was ready to be anybody's man. What, then, would be more humorous than to have Falstaff gloat about capturing without a struggle, this outlaw who would fawn upon anyone if it were expedient to do so? Certainly "a traitor was his degree, the dungeon his fit place". What could be more ludicrous than to hear Falstaff proudly proclaim that he will have the taking of Colville listed with the heroic deeds of the battle in the North, or "have it in a particular ballad else, with mine own picture on the top on't, Colvile kissing my foot"—Colville, who would kiss anybody's foot? Does it not seem likely that Shakspere adopted an old name from Holinshed because of its contemporary significance?[62]

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[62] This article formed part of a study completed at the University of Iowa.

THE INFLUENCE OF *SENECA*

By SAMUEL A. SMALL

WHEN the English translations of Seneca's tragedies were published in the collected edition of 1581 by Thomas Newton, the Renaissance had thoroughly awakened the English mind to the new beauties resurrected from ancient literature. By 1589[1] the English mind had absorbed from these ten tragedies all that was strange, weird, and bloody, and adapted these ideas to their drama. The first contact of Seneca with England had been in the universities in the original form; subsequently separate plays were translated, the earliest of these being Jasper Heywood's version of *Troades* in 1559. It thus took thirty years (1559-1589) for English playwrights to know and use Seneca to their best advantage. The early English imitators, though they had dressed their efforts in classical form, did not see, or at least did not fully sympathize with, the deeper and better phases of Senecan technique. At this point it is enough to say that the modernism in Seneca, the thing that gives the Latin plays their power, had failed to impress the authors of *Gorboduc*. A comparative study of Seneca and *Gorboduc* will convince any student of the sixteenth-century drama of this. Newton's collection of 1581 came at the right moment to vitalize English drama with the best that Seneca had to offer.

Gorboduc appeared in 1561-62, only two years after Heywood's translation. As an academic drama we should expect to find in this play a slavish imitation of Senecan form and ideas. Sackville and Norton were both university men; but the English spirit shows itself predominantly in their work, as was shown by Watt[2] some years ago. An analysis of the Latin dramas and the pointing out of similarities between them and the principal English tragedies of the sixteenth century has already been done.[3] From a discussion of the differences in the use of each dramatic element, as these are to be seen in *Gorboduc,* we can understand how

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[1] The appoximate date of *The Spanish Tragedy.*

[2] *Gorboduc.* Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 351 (1910).

[3] Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy,* and Fischer, in *Zur Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie.*

the early Seneca failed to vitalize completely the earliest English tragedy.

Seneca's subject matter first attracted the attention of Elizabethan readers. The stories were derived from the mythological legends of the great Greek dramatists. Seneca selected only the most sensational themes, including the horrible banquet of Atreus, the murder of Agamemnon by his adulterous wife, the incestuous love of Phaedra, the unnatural crime of Medea's murder of her children, etc. Domestic events stand in the foreground of interest; political motives form only the background. In *Medea,* for instance, we see the climax of an adventurous and romantic love story. After the marriage of Jason and Medea and their return to Greece, a bitter quarrel breaks out between husband and wife. Jason casts off Medea, and Seneca's tragedy, beginning at this point, gives us the passionate story of Medea's revenge.

The theme of *Gorboduc* is similar to that of Seneca in the fact that it is a legend, but the story of the English play is based on old British history, not on Greek mythology. Though in *Gorboduc* domestic tragedy ensues, the basic motive for all the action of the play is political. The play is, therefore, not as sensational—not as much based on passion—as the Latin play. Furthermore, the revenge motive, which in the typical Senecan tragedy comes at or near the beginning, does not enter the heart of the old mother of Ferrex and Porrex until after the middle of the play. This non-conformity to the Senecan method is one of the chief factors in making the play dull and uninteresting. The authors of *Gorboduc* may have derived their idea of putting the political interest in the foreground and shifting the revenge motive to the end of the play from the Italianate Seneca. More likely, however, it was done thoughtlessly in the exercise of their own freedom to act independently at times. These two factors make up a powerful force in expanding on Seneca and in contributing to the final shaping of English drama, but they have no interest for us in this discussion; for, what is significant for us here is that the drift away from the pure elements of Seneca was only

a temporary groping followed later by a closer approximation to the original Latin plays. The authors of *Gorboduc* chose to emphasize political matters and to neglect the correct handling of the revenge motive; whereas the later masters of English drama, like Kyd, Marlowe, and Shakspere, returned to Seneca in using domestic subjects and in making the most of the revenge motive. They did so because there were more dramatic opportunities in what Seneca offered than in the early imitations of Seneca. A significant event which may have aided this movement was the publication of the English translations of Seneca by Newton in 1581, at the threshold of what may be called the second period of popular dramatists who contributed most to the development of the popular stage. Of course, mythological themes were too remote to be used in a country with a national spirit that was reflected on the stage; there was, therefore, never a return to Seneca in this respect.

Another important feature in Seneca which the authors of *Gorboduc* failed to rival was his rhetoric. Lacking in dramatic genius and dealing with out-worn legends, Seneca had to dress his tragedies with an attractive rhetorical form. He observed to the letter Aristotle's rule[4] of lavishing all the ornaments of diction on the weak, inactive parts of the story. There are two opposite kinds of style in the tragedies: one is loose and descriptive; the other, condensed and to the point. Long descriptions and brief ethical maxims are prevalent everywhere in the plays. Neither of these tendencies is very prominent in *Gorboduc*. The long speeches in *Gorboduc* are, for the most part, argumentative, not descriptive. Many conventional terms, such as *miser, horridus, frigidus, insanus, ultus, cadere, stupere, sanguis, sudor,* etc., which are very common in Seneca, do not occur in their English equivalents to any noticeable extent in *Gorboduc*. The fact is that Sackville and Norton wrote better English than Seneca wrote Latin. Mythological allusions and figures of speech of all kinds do not occur in *Gorboduc* as abundantly as they do in Seneca. Seneca's chief stylistic fault is excessive use of ornament; this can hardly be said of the style of *Gorboduc*. The introduction

[4] *Poetics,* Ch. 24:11.

of many ethical maxims in Seneca is really another stylistic ornament; this tendency, too, is not conspicuous in *Goboduc.*

In spite of a great abundance of rhetoric, the Senecan dramas lack organic life. They are not constructed along good dramatic lines. The brevity of each tragedy, the small number of scenes in each act, the large number of long monologues, and the slow beginning, make one feel that the chief characteristic of the tragedies, so far as dramatic organization is concerned, is dullness. This feeling is impressed on the reader still more by the frequency of a drawn-out, tedious speech occurring after a short, rapid dialogue. We find that *Gorboduc* differs in dramatic organization in one respect only. Its length, counting the play proper, is 1796 lines, about the average length of a Senecan drama. But the play is made much longer than Seneca's by the five dumb-shows which appear at the beginning and between the acts.

The prologue is the regular beginning of a Senecan drama. With the exception of two plays, the *Phaedra* and the *Hercules Oetaeus,* it is an outburst of some violent passion: revenge, in *Medea;* fear in *Oedipus;* jealousy in *Hercules Furens;* etc. The intense tone continues without relief to the very end of the tragedy. The prologue also contains some hint of the coming catastrophe. *Gorboduc* does not begin in this fashion. There is no monologue, but a broken conversation between Videna and her elder son, Ferrex, in which the former shows fear for her son's safety and jealousy of the favor shown by Gorboduc to Porrex. It is as portentous as the Senecan model, but lacks the brilliant show of violent passion. The speech of Videna at the beginning of act IV has the true tone of the Senecan prologue. It constitutes the whole first scene, consisting of eighty-one lines, and contains questions, exclamations, introspective musings of revenge, and other elements that keep the feelings at high pitch. The entire speech has the tone which we find in the following quotation from it:

> Shall I thinke that from this wombe thou sprong?
> That I thee bare? Or take thee for my sonne?
> No, traitor, no! I thee refuse for mine!
> Never, O wretch, this wombe conceivëd thee,

> Nor never bode I painfull throwes for thee!
> Changeling to me thou art, and not my child,
> Nor to no wight that sparke of pitie knew.
> Ruthelesse, unkinde, monster of natures worke,
> Thou never suckt the milke of womans brest,
> But from thy birth the cruell tigers teates
> Have nursëd thee![5]

Why did not the authors of *Gorboduc* write a monologue of this character for the beginning of their play?

Everyone knows the theatrical value of supernatural beings. Though he derived them from the Greek drama, Seneca made them more highly decorative. They are spectacular and, through their weird speeches, portend a coming catastrophe. These speeches are stuffed with much superfluous description. The ghost of Thyestes, in *Agamemnon,* presents himself as a material being, first speaking some twenty lines about the several torments of hell; then describing the unnatural crimes of the house of Pelops; and finally foretelling new crimes and crying out for vengeance. The ghost of Tantalus, in *Thyestes,* also rants about the crimes of his house and refers constantly to the punishment of the underworld. Instead of demanding vengeance, this ghost warns his family of impending evils.

There are several kinds of supernatural creatures in Seneca. The material ghost, which is visible to all, converses like a living being. In the preceding paragraph two of this nature were mentioned. Next in importance are the apparitions which appear three times in descriptions. In act three of *Oedipus,* Creon, having just returned from the rites of necromancy, and obeying the commands of Oedipus, invokes all the ugly forms from the underworld. Similarly, the ghost of Achilles in *Troades* (168 ff.) is depicted as ascending from a chasm in the ground close to his tomb. A third such ghost occurs a little later in *Troades* (438 ff.) Mention must also be made of Andromache's dream in which the wretched form of Hector rises from a chasm in the ground to urge her to save Astyanax from the hands of the Greeks.

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[5] Quoted from *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* ed. Adams, p. 522.

Seneca is famous for his many references to the underworld. The dark regions of Pluto are depicted in several visions. Medea (958 ff.), having worked herself up into an insane frenzy just before she slays her first son, sees a vision of the furies and another of her murdered brother. The vision is very effective here, as it strengthens her hand for the terrible deed she is about to commit. The dream of Poppaea (*Octavia,* 712 ff.), though not so skilfully handled as Medea's vision, is a piece of dramatic narrative. The spectre of her husband's mother led her through a cleft in the earth to her dead husband's chamber, where she saw both her son and former husband. A third vision occurs in *Phoenissae* (40 ff.). Blind Oedipus, half soliloquizing, yearns for death as a final relief from his criminal life. He suddenly imagines that angry Laius is beside him and trying to tear out more flesh from his eyes. References to the underworld are plentifully used in all the plays. The infernal rivers, Styx, Acheron, Cocytus, and Lethe are some of his most favorite words for calling up the world of the dead. Witchcraft is an old device in the theatre. The most striking use of it in Seneca occurs in *Medea,* 670-815, where the sorceress gathers into a pot all sorts of animal and vegetable matter.

I have dwelt at some length on the several kinds of supernatural agencies in Seneca because through them we find the peculiar power of these dramas, and because this important element is so entirely lacking in *Gorboduc.* Without the psychological depth of ghosts, visions, apparitions, weird references to the underworld, etc., the authors of the first English tragedy would hardly have felt the attraction which later writers, as Kyd and Shakspere, found pleasing and at the same time useful in character drawing. Sackville and Norton apparently did not care to attempt that deeper side of character study which involves a strong mental life with accompanying psychological reactions.

The epic nature of ancient drama probably survives in the speech of the messenger, though the function of reporting events is very often put into the mouth of a nurse or a confidant. Such a speech bristles with rhetoric and is sensational in character. Having narrative interest of its own,

it impedes the main action of the play. In *Phaedra,* act IV, a messenger hurries in to inform Theseus of his son's death. After saying that Hippolytus is dead, he enters into a studied account of the manner of his death. Gradually, for 144 lines, the horrible manner of his death is told with a great deal of rhetorical and picturesque detail. There are eight such passages in Seneca spoken by messengers. All deal with violence which is usually bloody and criminal. In *Gorboduc* a messenger appears twice for no other purpose than to make short announcements, six lines in length in one case and nineteen lines in the other. In neither speech is there any of the attractive rhetoric and the detailed description characteristic of the colorful figure in Seneca.

Another figure, more important than the messenger, which the authors of *Gorboduc* neglected, is the nurse. She was derived from Seneca and fashioned by the later dramatists into a conventional rôle. The part she plays in Seneca is formal in character, and her speeches are long and dull. Acting simply as a means of getting information from the principal characters, or of giving information to the audience or reader, she is wholly without independent action. As a confidant to the heroine, she is in the closest touch with the action of the plot. She interprets everything in the play and watches the course of the plot with coolness. In *Medea* she acts as an adviser for what is reasonable. Vainly she counsels Medea against her rashness; but though she is wise enough to foresee the tragic result of the domestic quarrel, she makes no move to prevent it. She is often made ridiculous by the learned words she utters. In *Hercules Furens* and *Thyestes* the nurse is replaced by a male confidant. There is no nurse in *Gorboduc.* The lady associated with the queen, Videna, is Marcella, who appears once in act IV in the rôle of messenger. She first announces the murder of Porrex and laments the dead. When Gorboduc has left the stage, she describes in detail the manner of the prince's death. The function of reporting and describing events, though belonging to the messenger, is sometimes taken over by the nurse in Seneca; but Marcella does not fulfil the essential duties of the traditional nurse. There is no scene in which she utters words of wisdom to Videna; nor does she warn her against the consequences of her

meditated crime. In truth, Marcella is English, reminding us of Nerissa in the *Merchant of Venice,* in that she is a lady in waiting who acts and thinks independently.

The male counterpart of the nurse is the confidant. This figure appears often in Seneca and has functions similar to that of the nurse. In *Gorboduc* the confidants are exact models of those in Seneca, but there are more of them. Eubulus, Arostus, Dordan, and Philander, as well as the two parasites, Hermon and Tyndar, deliver long speeches counselling their masters in forensic fashion. They are Senecan through and through; but the use of the confidant is overdone. Nowhere in Seneca are there so many as six such figures in one play.

All these pretentious counsellors, with their argumentative speeches, dull the edge of the strong emotions aroused by the principal speakers in the play. But even the emotional note of the main characters lacks the high pitch of a regular Senecan drama. The Latin plays are more lyrical than dramatic, the speakers trying to make their personal feelings infect the listeners with a similar mood. There are twenty-one cases of lyrical scenes in monologue form, twelve cases with two lyrical speeches, and two cases with three such speeches. Most of these scenes are at the beginning and end of the plays; while the more dramatic parts occur in the middle. The highly lyrical or passionate caste of the Senecan drama is due to this large number of long emotional passages. Turning our attention to *Gorboduc,* we can easily note a distinct difference. *Gorboduc* does not convey the strong lyrical tone that is always found in Seneca. The fault lies in the long monologues which are not personal enough. Only the three long speeches of Gorboduc (act III, lines 1-27), Videna (act IV, lines 1-81), and Marcella (act IV, lines 199-255) have the peculiar Senecan flavor of mental suffering. All the other speeches, especially those of the counsellors and parasites, are too political to be effective. For instance, the dialogue between Ferrex, Hermon, and Dordan, which makes up the first scene of the second act, is a cool and reasoned argument against Porrex. So is Porrex's long speech against his brother at the begin-

ning of the second scene of act two. For the revengeful rage, sometimes bordering on insanity, which prevails in Seneca, we have here a cool, calculating hate.

The choral element in Seneca enhances the lyrical tone of the Latin plays. This cannot be said of the chorus in *Gorboduc.* The choral passages in Seneca are made up of light lyrical descriptions mingled with moral reflections. They occur regularly at the end of each act except the last. They serve as lyrical ornaments. The theme treated by each chorus is suggested, though remotely, by what is taking place in the story. The chorus appears briefly within the acts once in *Hercules Furens, Troades, Thyestes, Oedipus, Medea, Hercules Oetaeus,* and *Octavia;* twice in *Phaedra.* The function of the chorus, however, is purely mechanical in these places, and they do not concern us here. But the lyrical choruses after the acts, which do interest us, sing of the heroic deeds of men and gods. In *Hercules Furens,* II and III, and *Hercules Oetaeus,* IV and V, Hercules is glorified; in *Phaedra* (II) Hippolytus is described; so also in Pacchus in *Oedipus* (II), and Cupid in *Octavia* (IV). In all of the choruses there is much superfluous matter. In *Medea,* III, for instance, the chorus describes the heroine's rage, comparing it with the violent forces of nature, such as Auster's blast, the current of the Rhone, etc. Then there are added seven long stanzas, nine lines each, depicting seven examples from mythology of heroes who have met violent ends, and praying that Medea's hate will not cause the death of the argonautic hero. The piling up of too many examples seems to give opportunity for rhetoric and mythological allusions which smother up many passages of real beauty. From the standpoint of poetry the chorus is the best part of the tragedies. Many songs can be read as separate pieces of poetry. The best are the one on the Break of Day in *Hercules Furens,* I, and the Address to Sleep in the same play, act IV. It is strange that the authors of *Gorbodus* did not use their choruses, as Seneca did, to give relief to the preceding act by employing lighter descriptions for the purpose of entertainment. Neither did they follow Seneca in varying the meter of the choral passages; they wrote them in the meter of the play proper.

The chorus in *Gorboduc* serves as a didactic rather than a lyrical ornament. The authors emphasized too strongly a minor element in Seneca's choruses. Some of Seneca's philosophical teachings are expressed in the choral passages. He warns us of the danger of great fortune in *Hercules Oetaeus,* II, *Agamemnon,* I, *Phaedra,* IV, and *Thyestes,* II. Fate is treated by the chorus in *Oedipus,* V. Death, as something to be desired, is dealt with at length in *Troades,* II. In *Hercules Oetaeus,* III, the chorus sings of the inevitableness of death which will finally overwhelm even the gods. The power of love over everything, even over the gods, is discussed at the end of *Phaedra,* I. He cites numerous examples from mythology to show the compelling force of love. Seneca praises peace in the chorus of *Agamemnon,* II, and invokes the peace-loving divinities, Apollo and Juno. The simple life is the subject of one of the choruses in *Octavia,* V. Here are given examples in history of men who first curried popular favor but later suffered violent death at the hands of the people. In *Troades,* II and IV, there is reflected much feeling of personal grief, and in *Phaedra,* III, and *Hercules Furens,* II, the calmness of nature, as contrasted with the turmoil of human affairs, is beautifully sung. All these ideas are merely starting points for oratorical elaborations. There is no plainly didactic purpose; it is all in the spirit of song and music. On the other hand, the choruses in *Gorboduc* are intentionally didactic; there are none of the Senecan digressions and elaborations which smother the moral teachings. The English play was, of course, in keeping with the spirit of the age in which it was written. Plays of the best type were expected to convey moral lessons. Sir Philip Sidney, it will be remembered, praised *Gorboduc* for its "notable morality".[6]

Let us next look at the fine points of dramatic composition in the plays. The general type of play we are studying was never intended for presentation before a popular audience, because it does not imitate real life. It was writtn as a recitative drama for the learned. But most of the Latin plays have an inner vigor which gives strong life

[6] *Defense of Poesy,* ed. Cook, Boston, 1890, p. 47.

to the individual characters in the plays; but, for the most part, *Gorboduc* is lifeless.

In the first place, in Seneca many pieces of dialogue, otherwise good, are given a stilted and unnatural tone by the introduction of pointed antitheses and axiomatic commonplaces. In the second place, descriptions and recitations of all sorts stop the action of the plays. But there are in Seneca five elements which partially compensate for the slow action. These are: stichomythia, an occasional good internal structure, narrow sharp action, an inner rhetorical spirit, and the recurrence of the revenge idea. Each of these features will be commented on and compard with what we find in *Gorboduc.*

Seneca makes frequent use of the stichomythia, which, though stiff in structure, gives relief to the dragging action of the play. Often they are psychologically subtle, as in *Medea,* 169 ff.:

Nutrix: Non metuis arma?
Medea: Sint licet terra edita.
N. Moriere.
M. Cupio.
N. Profuge.
M. Painetuit fugae.
N. Medea—
M. Fiam.
N. Mater es.
M. Cui sim vides.
N. Profugere dubitas?
M. Fugiam, at ulciscar prius.

This is a dramatic dialogue *par excellence.* In it the nurse advises Medea to escape death by flight; but Medea answers that she is a mother and that she will flee after she has had revenge. The mingling of the ideas of "mother" and "revenge" gives us a suggestion of how she is to retaliate upon Jason. It is all good dramatic psychology. There is only one attempt at stichomythia in *Gorboduc,* at the beginning of the play (Act 1, lines 10-20). Videna and her elder son, Ferrex, both are grieving over the king's unkind treatment of them.

Vid. So great a wrong, and so unjust despite,
Without all cause, against all course of kinde!
Ferrex: Such causeless wrong, and so unjust despite,
May have redresse, or, at the least, revenge.
V. Neither, my sonne; such is the froward will,
The person such, such my missehappe and thine.
F. Mine know I none but grief for your distress.
V. Yes, mine for thine, my sonne. A father? No;
In kinde a father, not in kindliness.
F. My father? Why, I know nothing at all
Wherein I have misdone unto his Grace.[7]

The authors of *Gorboduc* did not understand the psychological foundation for the stichomythia. There is a definite conflict of minds between the nurse and Medea in the Senecan piece above quoted. No such conflict exists between Videna and Ferrex. In Seneca conflicts in which sharp opinions are exchanged are abundant and represent the vigor abiding in this species of drama. H. A. Watt, who agrees with Cunliffe and Schelling that Sackville and Norton had the original Seneca in mind when they wrote *Gorboduc,*[8] admits that the stichomythia which I have just quoted from *Gorboduc* is the only instance in the play "where the spirit at least of this form of expression seems to exist."[9] But Watt failed to see that, because of the absence of mental conflicts, so necessary to tragedy, this amounts to another serious deficiency in *Gorboduc.*

Seneca has other dramatic elements which failed to make an impression on our English authors. Internal structure—the artist's skill in making one incident grow naturally out of a preceding one, so as to form a causal chain, is a psychological process—which we are surprised to find occasionally in Seneca, does not usually occur in the academic drama. One scene especially has been admired by modern critics. This is the second scene in Act III of the *Troades.* By a stroke of cunning, Ulysses begets in Andromache a conflict between reverence for her husband's tomb and mother-love for her child. The mental conflict is too much for her and she reveals the secret hiding place to the Greeks. Dryden, in his *Essay of Dramatic Poesy,* considered it one

[7] Quoted from *Chief Pre-Shakespearean Dramas,* ed. Adams, p. 505.
[8] *Op. Cit.* p. 57.
[9] *Ibid.* p. 64.

of the best scenes in ancient tragedy. After a very close examination of *Gorboduc,* I can find in it no scene having any semblance of good internal structure. There is one situation which might have been developed into a dramatic scene. When Gorboduc meets Porrex, in Act IV, scene 2, both are in a highly emotional state which could have resulted in quick repartee leading to some subsequent action. But, in the usual dry manner, the meeting provokes two long speeches which do not contribute to furthering the plot. Instead, Marcella immediately enters to announce the unexpected death of Porrex.

Examining the Latin and English plays from the point of view of the three unities and the stage decencies, one finds distinct differences between them. Seneca adheres closely, though not strictly, to the unities. In the matter of action, he limited the story as narrowly as possible to the last phase of the legend. This enabled him also to observe more easily the unities of time and place. His method conforms to the well-known principles in Greek tragedy. He uses only the last stage of the action, bringing in what precedes by narration. *Gorboduc,* on the other hand, was written in that free spirit characteristic of the old English chronicle plays. There is no preparation at the beginning. Events happen in logical order without much regard for time, place, or action. The motivation is poor. But after the elder son has been killed, a crisis arises. Videna's vengeance is a Senecan motivation for what immediately follows, but it comes at the beginning of the fourth act. There is no definite protagonist in the play; the principal rôle shifts from the old king to the two brothers. In the second edition (1570) the name of the play was changed to *Ferrex and Porrex.* In several places four and even five actors are on the stage together,[10] thereby violating the ancient rule of not allowing more than three actors on the stage at one time. Another point of difference concerns the modern tendency of introducing blood-shed and death on the stage. In this matter Seneca is modern in *Hercules Furens* and *Medea.* It is not a little surprising to note that neither blood-shed nor deaths occur on the stage in *Gorboduc.* These things delighted the English audiences

[10] For instance, in Act I, scene 2, four actors are on the stage. When the messenger comes in, at the end of Act III, scene 1, five actors are on the stage.

of the sixteenth century; yet Sackville and Norton strictly held to the classicle rule of not allowing blood-shed or violence on the stage.

A strong emotional tone, bordering on insanity and accompanied by introspective feelings, pervades Seneca from beginning to end; in *Gorboduc* this occurs only in two or three places. Terrifying situations are often depicted and even presented on the stage by Seneca, but in *Gorboduc* they are reduced to comparatively tame descriptions of tragic events. Only Marcella's report of the murder of Porrex strikes the Senecan key. With the possible exception of the Gorboduc-Porrex scene, there is no case where conflicting emotions are so strongly presented on the stage as to cause fear in the mind of the audience. The deeper and finer ideas of tragedy lying behind mere form were practically unnoticed by the authors of *Gorboduc.*

We are now in a position to appreciate the important place that Newton's collection of 1581 holds in the literary history of English drama. Prior to this date, and after *Gorboduc* had appeared, *Gismond of Salerne in Love* (acted 1568) was composed in accordance with the rules of Senecan tragedy. One can easily see the strong influence Newton's collection had on this play when, after 1581, Robert Wilmot, one of the original collaborators, revised the play in 1591. He intensified the deeper side of Seneca. In the words of Tucker Brooke, "the heroine here dies in the sight of the audience, and the hero's heart is brought bleeding upon the stage."[11] The *Misfortunes of Arthur* (1588) is further proof of the vital influence exerted by the 1581 collection. In this play, Thomas Hughes distorts the story of King Arthur in order to make it conform to the spirit of Seneca.

After 1581, playwrights were learning from Seneca technical skill in handling the intenser side of the human spirit. By collecting the efforts of former translators, Thomas Newton gave a vital impulse to English drama. This interest in the inner spirit of Seneca was the real training school for later tragedians.

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[11] *The Tudor Drama,* p. 197.

THE DEATH OF FALSTAFF

*A Dramatic Fantasy**

(See *Henry V*, II. iii. 5-38)

By ARTHUR M. SAMPLEY

THE scene is a room in Boar's Head Tavern, Eastcheap. It is about midnight, and the space around a big bed is lighted by candles which throw into relief SIR JOHN FALSTAFF *as he lies on his deathbed. His great form is shrunk, his nose pinched, his face cadaverous, but an occasional flash in his eyes flickers like a gust of flame over a dying fire.*

The HOSTESS *hovers anxiously about, and* POINS *strides nervously around the room. The* PAGE *stands at the foot of his master's bed.*

Falstaff. Where's Bardolph?

Hostess. A' went for the leech, Sir John.

Falstaff. I would he were here to light the room. These candles are as dim as the tapers of hell; I can scarce see a hand before my eyes. Where's Bardolph, I say?

Hostess. Indeed, Sir John, a' went for the leech.

Falstaff [*not heeding her*]. Let him stand by my bed so that his nose may shine for me. Shall I abide in darkness when I have nourished that flame so many years? (*He gasps.*) Ah-h-!

Hostess. What is it, Sir John? Let me straighten your pillow, Sir John, for you have burrowed into it like a rat in a hay-mow. Yes, Sir John, in faith, you have, la! and I will set it in order for you. Ah, my poor dead husband! just so I used to set his pillow for him when he lay on his last bed, whereby he would look into my eyes and call for a capon's leg, and 'twas e'en the last week in Lent and not a bite of meat in the house, for I warrant I am as good a Christian as any soul in the parish and could never abide meat in my house on Friday save when Bardolph hid the stolen shoulder of pork in the pantry in Lammastide——

* This playlet is intended as a fantasy and not as an interpretation of Shakspere, though as fantastical interpretations have been offered in all seriousness and with as little evidence. There is nothing in this skit that contradicts the account given by the Hostess in *Henry V*, though something is here introduced which that obtuse observer might have seen without recognizing its significance.

Falstaff. Peace, hostess, peace! Thou prattlest like a woman.

Hostess. I do not, Sir John, and it is a shame for you to say so. I prattle like no woman, I would have thee know.

Falstaff. Nay, by my sword, thou prattlest like a woman, and thou art as arrant a woman as any I ever saw. Out upon all women, I say!

Hostess. Oh, how can you say so, Sir John? Thou hast in mine own eyesight called Doll Tearsheet an angel when she brought thee a cup of sack on a winter's night when the sheriff's men had chased thee from Gadshill. Thou said'st she was an angel from heaven, and then thou drunkest the sack and cursed her because there was no more.

Falstaff. Nay, out upon all women! They are devils incarnate. The devil puts them in a fair form to tempt the weak, and God gives them a devil's temper to warn away the wise.—Where's my page?

Page. Here, Sir John.

Falstaff. Thou lookest like the shadow of a ghost that died of fasting. Stand between me and the light that I may see thee clearer.

Page. I am not so thin as a glass, Sir John.

Falstaff. Thou art thinner. A glass has body enough to reflect, and there's no more reflection in thee than in a sleeping priest. Dost thou hear me, boy?

Page. Ay, master.

Falstaff. Live well, and drink no sack. I could swim out of hell on the sack I have drunk and freight all my sins out with me. Where's Poins?

Poins. Here, Jack.

Falstaff. Ned Poins! a plague upon him for hiding my horse. . . Has Gadshill set a match? . . . Ah, Hal, Hal, no more o' that, an thou lovest me.

Poins. His mind runs in the old grooves. Poor Jack! Has Nym taken my message?

Page. He has been gone these three hours.

Hostess. Where did you send him?

Poins. To the court for a young doctor there who is much praised for his skill.

Page (*looking at* FALSTAFF, *who seems to have sunk into a stupor.*) His skill will not skill here. But tell me, why do you think Sir John took so suddenly ill?

Hostess. He has pined ever since he came from prison. He would sit and stare you by the hour and drink less than two quarts of sack a day.

Poins. Nay, he did love the Prince.

Hostess. Ay, he loved him as if he had been any saint in heaven. I have seen him, poor soul, drinking his sack and weeping and still drinking and weeping, till his beard was as sodden as a drenched fowl in April.

Poins. For my part, I think he loved the Prince—the King, I should say—for the money he expected to get from him, and when he failed, he tried incontinently to drown himself in sack.

Hostess. Fie on you that you say so! Sir John cared for no money. He borrowed a thousand pound from Justice Shallow and spent it within a month, and like a true man gave Justice Shallow his note of hand for the payment. He hath stolen money I know not how oft to pay for his drinking, and I have heard him say a hundred times that he had rather put sack in his belly than gold in his purse.

Falstaff (*rousing from his stupor*). Bring in the cans, lad. Set the pewter pot by the Hostess, and I'll carve the roast capon. Be merry, good hearts, while the vine grows and the wine flows. . . Ah, Hal . . . Hal . . . Hal!

Hostess. Good Sir John, lie still, and I'll fetch you some steaming broth.

Falstaff. A plague of broth, and a plague of all cowards! Ha! The better part of valor is discretion . . . banish not him thy Harry's company: banish plump Jack, and banish all the world . . . In prison too! Ah, Hal . . . Hal!

(*There comes a knock at the door, and* POINS, *who is near it, opens the portal, admitting a tall young man with heavy eyebrows and a full beard.*)

Poins. Who are you, sir?

Stranger. A physician from the court.

Poins. Welcome, indeed! I feared you might not come.

Stranger. No fear of that. I would I had come sooner. Woman, bring me some steaming towels; and boy, see that you help her. We must be private for some minutes if my

drugs help him. (*To* POINS) You may stay, but sit in the chair in the shadows.

(*The* HOSTESS *and the* PAGE *leave. The* STRANGER *stands a few moments above* FALSTAFF *without speaking.*)

Stranger. I would you had informed me sooner.

Poins. I did not think him so ill, or I had done so.

Stranger. But is he conscious?

Poins. No his wits have been wandering these two hours.

Stranger. Poor Jack! Poor Jack! Has carried his guts and his iniquities past the even limits of human life. For the good of the kingdom he might well have died sooner, but no man in Europe was merrier company. Think you that I can rouse him?

Poins. No, my good lord.

Stranger. Well, I shall try. (*Trying to attract* FALSTAFF'S *attention*) Jack! Jack Falstaff!

Falstaff. The sheriff's men are at the door. A plague upon the law when it disturbs honest men.

Stranger (*louder*). Jack Falstaff!

Falstaff. Ay, Jack Falstaff to his familiars, and Sir John to all Europe . . . Nay, Justice Shallow, I have drunk with the Prince in all the hours of the dawn.

Stranger. Jack! Jack! Would you like to see Hal?

Falstaff. Where's Hal? How now, madcap, shall we take a purse to-night? . . . Ah, you shall see, Justice Shallow, how the new king loves me.

(*The* STRANGER *suddenly pulls away the full beard, revealing a much younger face.*)

Stranger. Do you know me, Jack?

Falstaff. What, bonds on a knight? The King's orders —is it? Bring me to the King . . . (*gasping*) the King.

Stranger. It is I, Jack—Hal. Hal is here, Jack.

Falstaff (*wonderingly*). Hal? Where's Hal? What, to put his old companion in prison! . . . Beshrew my soul, but I loved him.

Stranger. Do you know me, Jack?

Falstaff (*rousing a little*). Who?

Stranger. Why, I, Hal!

Falstaff (*his face lighting*). By the Lord, it is Hal! Hal, have you come to take me out of gaol?

Stranger (*his voice breaking a little*). Yes, Jack.

Falstaff. And wilt thou hang this gaoler, Hal, and whip him if he hang not properly?

Stranger. Yes, Jack, whatever you will.

Falstaff. Why, so, Hal, I knew thou would'st come. You never meant that I should be kept in gaol. I knew it was but one of thy old pranks, Hal.

Stranger. Yes, Jack, but you'll be quite with me.

Falstaff. That I will, by the Lord! . . . Thou art the rascaliest, sweet young Prince.

Stranger. All shall be well now, Jack.

Falstaff. All well . . . Hal. (*A change passes over his face.*) Ah, lad, I must have drunk too much sack. My head whirls like a windmill.

(*The door opens, and the* HOSTESS *and the* PAGE *come in carrying towels. The* STRANGER *takes them, lays them on* FALSTAFF'S *feet, and motions the two to stand aside.* FALSTAFF'S *face seems momentarily to brighten.*)

Falstaff. Where's Mother? The country's greener now than I've seen it since I was a boy. Let's pluck some of the flowers, lad. Will you not give me a daisy?

(*The* STRANGER *takes two flowers from a vase on the table and hands them to* FALSTAFF. *The old knight holds the blossoms to his nose, fumbles them, and looks wonderingly at his fingers. Then suddenly he smiles.*)

Falstaff. Ah, there's a green meadow ahead, Hal, with green trees to lie under. Come, Hal, let's walk through the green fields . . . the green fields together, lad.

(*He draws a deep breath and then becomes quiet for a moment. It seems almost as if he is dead, but a sudden spasm of pain contracts his brow and arouses him.*)

Falstaff. God! God! God!

Hostess (*coming forward*). Nay, Sir John, do not think of God. I hope there is no need to think of God yet.

Falstaff (*gasping*). More cover . . . on my feet.

(*The* HOSTESS *lays additional covers on him, and his expression becomes more peaceful. A faint smile lightens his face.*)

Falstaff. We'll wander through the green fields together, Hal . . . through the green fields in the springtime together.

(*A deep sigh escapes him, and he becomes suddenly quiet. The* STRANGER *stands with bowed head. The*

HOSTESS, *evidently frightened, thrusts her hand into the bed and feels his body; a look of awe slowly spreads over her face.*)

Hostess. He's dead! Sir John is dead! (*She begins to sob.*)

Poins (*coming forward and trying to quiet her*). Peace, hostess!

Stranger (*who has resumed his beard*). Nay, let her grieve. She loved him. (*He turns to go.*)

Poins. Must you go now, my lord?

Stranger. I must indeed.

To-night I would have gi'en a kingdom for him;
He was a weakness in me, and his love,
Was dear to me as duty. Choosing one,
I needs must lose the other, but to-night
Fame and the world and all its kingdoms, measured,
Seem less than death of laughter from the earth.

(*He goes. The* PAGE *comes forward, and looks long into his dead master's face. Then he sinks slowly beside the bed, and hides his face in the cover as the curtain falls.*)

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GHOST TECHNIQUE IN SHAKSPERE

THE many Shaksperian critics and commentators differ as to the meaning of the ghosts portrayed in Shakspere's plays—that is, whether they are subjective or objective ghosts, and whether or not Shakspere himself believed in the ghost-lore of the day. Before we set forth, and attempt to resolve this question, let us sketch briefly the history and development of the dramatic ghost.

The ghost appears for the first time in the drama in two tragedies of Aeschylus: *Persae* (ghost of Darius) and *Eumenides* (ghost of Clytemnestra), the latter of which is the first of a long series of revenge-ghosts. Sophocles made no use of the ghost-device, but it again appears in Euripides' *Hecuba* (ghost of the murdered Polydorus). This one, a prologue-ghost, serves as a prototype to most of the ghosts of Latin, Italian, Spanish, French and English tragedy. Later, the Roman dramatist, Seneca, combined the Euripidean prologue ghost with the revenge of the Aeschylean ghost, the result being Thyestes and Tantalus, ghosts in two of his tragedies.

During the Renaissance in Italy, ghosts patterned after those of Seneca appeared often in the drama. In the *Progne* of Gregorio Corrario, for instance, there is a prologue-ghost which rants, in a true Senecan fashion, about the miseries of the Inferno. In the sixteenth century, Cinthio introduced a prologue-speech by a ghost in his *Orbecche*. Many other writers of that period, such as the French dramatists, Jodelle and Garnier, made use of the ghost-device. Before 1570 a translation of Seneca's plays was published in England. Consequently, between 1570 and 1590 the ghost took a definite place among the dramatis personae of English tragedies of revenge. In such plays as Hughes' *Misfortunes of Arthur,* and Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy,* the ghost has a considerable rôle. Soon after, the ghost was used for epilogues and in the classical chorus, as well as in the prologue.

The loss of Kyd's *Hamlet* makes it impossible to determine whether in that play Kyd made yet a further advance in the use of ghost-machinery. However, the ghost for the

first time becomes a definite sharer in the action of the play in the anonymous *Locrine*. After that, in many plays it ran riot and got beyond control. Marlowe ignored it completely, Jonson ridiculed it, but finally it was invested with a new dignity and endowed with a new purpose by Shakspere.

And what is the purpose of the ghost of Elizabethan drama? It was not merely used recklessly to produce uncanny, weird, and melodramatic effects, but had a definite purpose—in fact, several—namely: to wreak revenge by appearing either to the victim or to the revenger, to protect some loved one, to prophesy, to crave burial, to serve in the capacity of an omen of death. These purposes were from of old those of the ghost of folk-lore. The paramount purpose of the ghost in Shakspere's plays, however, is that of revenge.

Now to return to the main stream of this discussion—the interpretation of the Shaksperian ghost. Nineteenth century philosophical criticism implied that the ghosts were hullucinations or symbols, creations or projections by a person's mind. They were considered an abnormal mental phenomenon which depends on the possession of the mind by a dominant idea. Only when there is sympathetic rapport or partial hynotism, they claimed, could other minds share it and see the ghost. Wilson, in *Caliban, the Missing Link,* declared that they are nothing but the result of a feverish brain, artistically and subtly portrayed by Shakspere. This belief has received the sanction of Professors Herford, Moorman, Moulton, Schelling and Dr. W. W. Greg. Some of these make an exception of the ghost of Shakspere's father; others make an exception of this ghost only when on the platform; still others, as Professors Thorndike and Bradley, suspend judgment. Only a very few, in the last two or three years, as Professors Lawrence and Doak, hold a distinctly opposite opinion, declaring for their reality without reserve. What to me seems like the most logical and sensible discussion as to the reality of the ghost in Shakspere was offered by a critic in an article in the *Living Age*. This man maintains that the people of Shakspere's age believed in ghosts because they had seen them, whereas

we, for the same reason disbelieve in them. We have seen so many of them that we began to investigate them scientifically until this phenomenon, like many others once so mysterious and supposed to be of supernatural or preternatural origin, has been placed under known laws of nature. The distinction is not that our fathers saw ghosts and we do not, but that they saw and believed, whereas we see and do not believe that the apparition has come from another world. We are convinced that there is some abnormal, unhealthy or over-excited condition either in the mind or body of a person who sees a ghost. "Ghosts come not under the laws of bodily eyes, but under those of the imagination and therefore are, in metaphysical phrase, subsequently but not objectively real." This is an important question because the interpretation of Shakspere's artistic method depends upon it.

There is no ghostly intervention in the plots of the comedies and histories of Shakspere's middle period, as the ghost is primarily a tragic figure, and it is in the tragedies that its function could be fully developed. There is casual mention of ghosts in *Henry VI* and in *Romeo and Juliet;* finally, with *Richard III* ghosts take their part among the actors of the play. The ghosts of Richard's victims, seeking his blood and tormenting his spirit, appear to him in a dream on the eve of battle. In their appearance Shakspere followed his predecessor (*True Tragedie of Richard III*), but he goes beyond it and substitutes dramatic action for narrative. The ghosts of Richard's victims are Senecan in character in that they are spirits of vengeance, but depart from Seneca's manner in making no reference to the underworld of classic mythology. Moorman says that "they are conceived by Shakspere as the instruments of that primeval amorphous power of Nemesis, which will not let the criminal triumph in his wickedness but demands an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth." These spectres are forces which sap Richard's courage and send him to the fight with Richmond unnerved and unmanned. The appearance of the ghost to Richmond is a further development of the Nemesis idea. Shakspere probably felt that the words of good cheer which the ghosts utter to Richmond served as an appropriate

complement to the message of woe brought to Richard. E. E. Stoll maintains that these ghosts are real and external, not even being robbed of reality by the fact that they appeared in a dream. He offers as proof of his argument the lights, which turn blue at their entrance. This proves, he feels, that Shakspere intended them to be understood as real, objective ghosts. Possibly he did, but today surely they can only represent to us the pangs of conscience suffered by the troubled Richard.

The ghost of Caesar, likewise, was an hallucination of an over-wrought mind. Brutus experienced a sense of failure and foreboded the impending ruin of his cause—this spirit of Caesar which appeared to him as he sat reading in his tent at Sardis was an embodiment of the presentiments and fears in his mind. He says:

> I think it is the weakness of mine eyes
> That shapes this monstrous vision.

Yet, something prompts Brutus to urge the ghost to remain, but as soon as he recovered from his trepidation, the ghost vanished.

In *Macbeth,* more than in any of the other tragedies, the supernatural element dominating the action from first to last, gives it a supreme mystery and terror and raises it above mere tragedies of ambition, murder, madness and defeat. The ghost of Banquo, a pure invention of Shakspere not found in the sources, is "the outcome of the play of Macbeth's frenzied imagination upon his deep sense of insecurity." A reader can only feel such emotions or weigh such arguments as are actually advanced or suggested by a writer. In the ghost scene in *Macbeth,* the reader is, most naturally, transformed into an embryo Macbeth, fearing and seeing as Macbeth does, for, like the proverbial drowning man, he clutches at the only straws of emotion—those that are Macbeth's. Banquo says little and does less—while Macbeth runs the gamut of terror and fear. He is merely a stimulus to Macbeth's action and thought through which the reader feels the emotions of the scene. When he has departed, the reader does not glance into the wing, but, most eagerly turns

to observe the reactions of Macbeth. Macbeth is utterly and profoundly shaken. Noting that his guests remain calm and undisturbed, he wonders how, under such circumstances, they "keep the natural ruby of their cheeks." This ghostly visitation is the beginning of the end for the unfortunate Macbeth.

Shakspere drew the ghost-lore of *Hamlet* from Louis Lavater, Swiss Protestant reformer, in his *De Spectris Lemuribus,* and in this play has drawn for us a very vivid picture of the popular ghost-belief of England. In addition, Shakspere created personality for the ghost of Hamlet. When, with grizzled beard and in full armour, he appears for the first time in Act I, Scene IV, he immediately impresses us as a great warrior king. He differs from the other ghosts in that he appears to the revenger and not to the murderer. He recounts to Hamlet the dreadful circumstances of his death and seeks his son's assistance. Still, he shows the solicitude of a father and is concerned with Hamlet's spiritual well-being when he says: "Taint not thy mind."

This ghost does not, however, tell Hamlet anything that he wasn't, at the moment of its communication, beginning to conclude by the force of his own reasonings. But Hamlet does not trust to the evidence of the ghost except just in the same degree as he does to those conclusions of his reason: and the one, like the other, he requires to be confirmed before he decides on avenging his father's death. The ghost is an embodying of Hamlet's dreary thoughts into an image which is projected upon the dark mists which have arisen before the hopes of his life. That Horatio and the others see the ghost is part of the dramatic machinery, which is necessary to enable us to see it with Hamlet's eyes and to sympathize adequately with him in the belief in its visible presence.

In Act III, Scene IV, Hamlet's mother neither sees nor hears the ghost—it is purely a subjective projection of Hamlet's mind and disappears the moment his attention is withdrawn from it by his argument with his mother as to whether

they are alone or not. In its speech it merely repeats Hamlet's one tormenting thought: his delay in the revenge. He says:

> Do you not come your tardy son to chide?

The answer is:

> Do not forget; this visitation
> Is but to whet thy almost blunted purpose.

Again in this scene it is almost human, or should I say superhuman, in its display of love and tenderness for the Queen, its faithless wife. This ghost is a spectral reality created by Hamlet's mind, which has been brooding so constantly.

Shakspere treats the subject of the supernatural sympathetically and not without dignity—probably he personally was in favor of the popular superstitions. Rather than great enlightenment—tolerance, geniality, common sense and tremendous imaginative power are characteristics of Shakspere. Therefore, it is very likely that he shared the superstitions of his age. His genius has nowhere more strikingly exhibited its creative power than in his varied realisations of beings lying beyond the pale of humanity and unfamiliar to all our experiences.

SPENSER'S "SHIELD OF FAITH"

By H. EDWARD CAIN

WHEN, nearly fifty years ago, Professor Whitney wrote his illuminating interpretation of the allegory of Book One of the *Faerie Queene,* he referred to it as "the remarkable allegory of the 'Defender of Faith,' "[1] and thus linked the symbolism of the armor of the Red Cross Knight to the title conferred upon Henry VIII by Leo X.[2] However, it will not be without interest if another connection, more literal and perhaps even more closely related to the life of Spenser's England, can be established between the allegory of the "shield of faith" and the person of the British sovereign.

In treating of the allegory, Whitney first quotes the passage of St. Paul[3] to which Spenser obviously refers[4] in his letter to Raleigh, and adds:

> Notice that although St. Paul particularizes each piece of armor, Spenser, by generalizing all but one piece, thus gives special emphasis to the shield of Faith:—twice in the first fourteen lines of the poem.[5]

And he continues:

> The shield of Faith proves to be the Knight's Defence and care in a peculiar sense, and he is the Defender of Faith as truly as he is the Defender of Una, or Truth.[6]

It is quite true that Spenser has given a particularly conspicuous place to the shield of faith, and that he has thus assigned to the Red Cross Knight the special role of champion and defender of the faith. Moreover, if, as Whitney

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[1] J. Ernest Whitney, "The 'Continued Allegory' in the First Book of the Faery Queene," *Transactions of the American Philological Association,* XIX (1888), p. 42.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 63.

[3] *Ephesians,* vi, 11-12. See also verses 13-17.

[4] Frederick M. Padelford, *The Faerie Queene, Book One,* Variorum ed. 1932, p. 169. Here Spenser says that the knight who is described in the opening lines of "the first booke" is wearing "the armour of a Christian man specified by Saint Paul v. Ephes." I am unable to follow Miss Boatwright in her belief that Spenser here intended "to refer the reader to the whole of Saint Paul's letter to the Ephesians", since it is only in the sixth chapter that the word occurs at all, and since Saint Paul does specify there that this is the armour of God which the follower of Christ, or the Christian, must put on. (See Evelyn Boatwright, "A Note on Spenser's Use of Biblical Material", *Modern Language Notes,* XLIV (1929), 159.) I prefer to believe with Miss Landrum that Spenser's "v" is merely a mistake for "vi". (Grace Warren Landrum, "Spenser's Use of the Bible ond His Alleged Puritanism", *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* XLI (1926), 520.)

[5] Whitney, *op. cit.* pp. 43-44.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 44.

indicates, Spenser did not follow St. Paul in his description of the armor of the Christian man, neither did he follow other possible sources. The description, for example, of the armor of Grand Amour is of no little interest in this connection:

> For first good hope his legge harneys sholde be
> His habergyon of perfyte ryghtwysnes
> Gyrde fast with the gyrdle of chastyte
> His ryche placarde sholde be good besynes
> Braudred with almes so full of larges
> The helmet mekenes / and the shelde good fayth
> His swerde goddes wordes as saynt Poule sayth.[7]

Murison observes that

> Grand Armour in *The Passetyme,* Youth in *The Example,* and Spenser's Red Cross Knight wear the same armour, the Christian soldier's panoply described by St. Paul, whose *Epistle to the Ephesians* is expressly referred to in each of the three instances.[8]

Certainly, this armor is *allegorically* the same; but *materially* it is not the same. The description of the armor of Graund Amour is even more elaborate than St. Paul's description, and the passage indicates an even greater difference between Spenser and Hawes than between Spenser and St. Paul; for whereas St. Paul mentions in particular six details of the panoply, *The Passetyme* cites seven. Spenser mentions, at least in the descriptive passage opening the poem, only one—the shield.

A more recent writer has demonstrated that the shield of the Red Cross Knight is not the only "shield of faith" in the *Faerie Queene.* He argues that the "real prototype" of Prince Arthur's shield is likewise that described by St. Paul in the passage already cited, rather than the Gorgon shield of Perseus or the magical shield of Atlanta. He says:

> Arthur's shield, in fact, is, like St. George's, a shield of faith, and with a characteristic mixture of pagan and Christian imagery Spenser has imbued the classical story with Christian meaning.[9]

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[7] Stephen Hawes, *The Passetyme of Pleasure,* W. E. Mead, ed., London, 1928, lines 3375-3381.

[8] William Murison, "Stephen Hawes", *Cambridge History of English Literature,* Cambridge, 1908, II, 266.

[9] W. J. B. Pienaar, "Arthur's Shield in the 'Faerie Queene'", *Modern Philology,* XXVI (1928-29), 5.

Thus, in his opinion, the shield, as a symbol of faith, plays a double role in the *Faerie Queene*. He then explains the propriety of this:

> The duality of the shield-of-faith allegory, as taught in the case of both Arthur and the Red Cross Knight, is in perfect keeping with the appearance of Arthur as having all the virtues of the minor heroes in a superlative degree, besides representing "heavenly grace." As he is the perfection and glorification of human virtue, so his diamond shield is the glorified or ideal type of St. George's silver one.[10]

Thus, in still another and perhaps more significant way has Spenser given special emphasis to the allegory of the "shield of faith."

A possible explanation of why Spenser so magnified this "shield of faith" is to be found by examining the coins of the sixteenth century. At the time Spenser was composing the *Faerie Queene,* and for many years before he could possibly have conceived it, there were circulating in England a host of coins which bore the legend: SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EAM.

In 1548 Edward VI declared the second issue of gold coins during his reign.[11] In 1549 there appeared on the half-sovereign a legend new to the English coinage, SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EVM.[12] The crowns and half-crowns of the same coinage likewise bore this legend, as did the crowns and half-crowns of Edward's fourth coinage (1552).[13]

However, almost immediately upon the accession of Mary, by a proclamation of August 20, 1553, all the "crown gold" coins, many of which bore this legend, were abolished.[14] Of course, as is well known, Mary's prime purpose was to restore the standard of the English gold coins; but it is perhaps not without significance that the only legend appearing on gold coins of Mary was the scriptural verse, A DNO FACTV EST ISTV Z EST MIRA IN OCVL NRIS[15] (a Domino factum est istud et est mirabile in oculis nostris), or some slightly varied abbreviation of the same. It is true that this legend was continued by Elizabeth on her first gold sover-

[10] *Ibid.* p. 67.
[11] Robert L. Kenyon, *The Gold Coins of England,* London, 1884, p. 108.
[12] Charles Oman, *The Coins of England,* Oxford, 1931, p. 263.
[13] Kenyon, *op. cit.* pp. 110, 111, 113, and 114.
[14] *Ibid.* p. 117.
[15] *Ibid.* pp. 118-120. See also *Psalms,* cxviii, 23.

eign, but Oman is probably correct in saying that these "words had now a new interpretation—to Mary they had meant the restoration of the Old Faith—to Elizabeth they meant her own accession after a long period of dangers and depression."[16]

The theory that this and other legends had a religious significance is supported, for example, by the fact that the groats of Mary's reign bore the motto VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA—a phrase which has been called the "watchword of the Counter Reformation."[17]

However, a fact of more particular interest is that Elizabeth, immediately upon her accession to the throne, revived the legend of Edward VI. By a proclamation of December 31, 1558, she authorized a number of gold coins, amongst them a half-sovereign and a half-crown, both of which bore the legend SCVTVM FIDEI PROTEGET EAM.[18] This legend Elizabeth retained on a number of coins to the end of her reign.[19]

From the foregoing it is possible to venture certain inferences.

From the fact that the shield-of-faith legend appeared on a number of English coins issued between 1549 and 1603, it may be inferred that its significance was a matter of common knowledge among Elizabethans; nor is it too much to say that they would more readily have associated the phrase "shield of faith" with a gold coin than with the *Epistle to the Ephesians,*—with Elizabeth rather than with Saint Paul.

There is yet the further probability that a definite religious significance informed the SCVTVM legend, as was the case with certain other legends of the period. The fact that, while the Protestants, Edward and Elizabeth, passed the legend current, the Catholic Mary discarded it, may indicate that by the time Spenser wrote the *Faerie Queene,* it had come to be popularly regarded as a shibboleth of Protestantism.

Washington, D. C.

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[16] Oman, *op. cit.* p. 275.
[17] *Ibid.* p. 270. See also George C. Brooke, *English Coins,* London, 1932, p. 192.
[18] Kenyon, *op. cit.* pp. 121, 126, and 131.
[19] *Ibid.* pp. 121-133 passim.

NOTES ON *HAMLET*

By ALFRED KELCY

This paper does not cover passages peculiar to Q 1.

I, i, 39.—Ingleby thinks that the castle-bell tolls one here. How can Marcellus say lines 65-66 unless the bell tolls one? Of course it is absurd for it to be twelve when the play opens and one at line 39, but Shakspere is reckless of time. I think in I, iv, and III, iv, also the bell strikes as the Ghost appears. In all three passages we are told some time before he does so that it is twelve o'clock. It may be argued that a stroke of the bell would not be effective if so faint that Horatio did not hear twelve, but again the argument has no weight when we consider the author. We may assume that the sound is actually loud, though supposed to be faint to the characters of the drama.

I, ii, 216.—"yet once methought It lifted up it head and did address Itself to motion like as it would speak." The Ghost certainly does not walk with his head down. *Cf.* "with *martial* stalk hath he gone by our watch"; "we do it wrong, being so *majestical"; "*goes slow and *stately* by them." If there is anything that stateliness implies it is erectness of the head. Shakspere would not spoil the picture of the dead King clad in armor and walking as stately as in life, unless compelled to do so. As there is not the least necessity for the King to walk with his head down, I think Shakspere wrote "It lifted up it *hand."* Perhaps it will be argued that the present reading implies only that the Ghost's head was bowed at that particular time, but no reason can be given why the Ghost's head should be bowed at that particular time; nothing has happened since the Ghost's first exit to make him sadder, and ghosts are not subject to fluctuations of mood; nor does a ghost have to look at the ground to make up his mind; nor would a ghost or anyone else be abashed by Horatio's exhortation to speak. Besides, the Ghost's demeanor is clear from "We do it wrong, being so majestical, To offer it the show of violence."

I, iii, 71.—Schmidt and Kellner (*Erklärungen,* etc.) say that "express'd" modifies "costliness." Perhaps it modifies "habit" and "express'd in fancy" is an instance of inversion

of a relation, such as "that else leans on the affair" (IV, iii, 56). Those things have been done on which the affair depends, not which depend on the affair; and Laertes is to see that fancy is not expressed in his habit, not that his habit is not expressed in fancy.

I, iii, 74.—The emendation I proposed in *PQ. XII* (1933), 373, was practically suggested by Dyce's note in Furness, and Mull's conjecture in Cambridge. Herford says that Collier's conjecture is not convincingly Shaksperian. To me it seems thoroughly consistent with the author's style. One of the main causes of conservatism is that many scholars imagine themselves to have an ability to judge what is Shaksperian, far greater than that which they actually possess, and they condemn a conjecture on the basis of this imaginary judgment of theirs, when the real trouble is that they do not want to believe that the conjecture is right and that the passage as emended does not sound familiar. If a scholar does not say what would be Shakspere's objection to a proposed reading, the affirmation that it does not seem Shaksperian to him does not merit much consideration.

I, iii, 102.—"Unsifted" can mean "untried," but it may also mean "unsifting," that is "not testing mentally, accepting everything without question or suspicion" (*cf.* II, ii, 58).

I, iv, 12.—Some editors say that "pledge" refers to the promise in I, ii, 125-128, but do not define "triumph," so that it is not clear whether they think the passage means "bray out that his pledge triumphs" or "bray out the triumph (i.e. festivity) which he promised." In several places "triumph" means "festivity." Caldecott takes the word in a sense nearer to the Roman and makes "pledge" mean "health-pledge," as do some other editors.

I, iv, 54-56.—It is obvious that a possible explanation is that "revisit'st the glimpses of the moon" is followed by (1) "making night hideous," (2) "so horridly to shake our disposition" ("We fools of nature!" being an exclamation which should be separated from the rest by dashes). But the assumption that this is the Ghost's purpose is not very consistent with Hamlet's repeated *questions* as to the purpose of the Ghost's visit. However, perhaps it has not

occurred to the critics that if this construction is adopted, "to shake" may mean "with the effect of shaking." I think this gives as good a meaning as those of Pope and Chambers. The latter's coupling of the infinitive with the clause is rather harsh.

II, ii, 262.—Sprague interprets "watched by spies" (*cf. T. G. of Ver.,* V, i, 10). But it must be remembered that one reason why the King and Queen would want Hamlet watched would be to prevent him from harming himself or others (*cf.* IV, v, 71, and V, i, 284). In other words, these servants are guards as well as spies, though it is probably chiefly as the latter that Hamlet thinks of them.

II, ii, 547.—"Plucks off my beard and blows it in my face." Perhaps Shakspere wrote "throws it in my face." One has only to hold a bunch of loose hairs to one's mouth and try to blow them into the face of another person to be convinced of the folly of this method. Kellner shows that *l* is often mistaken for *r*. He does not say that *r* is often mistaken for *l,* nor *th* for *b,* but even some quite common errors are not mentioned by him. I have seen a few instances of "that" confounded with "but," although I cannot recall where. (The reader will remember that *th* and *h* are very often mistaken for each other, and in III, ii, 372, *th* is mistaken for *k*.) As the instance which we are discussing is not an actual one, but one which Hamlet supposes, we can certainly be sure that it is intended to be typical. There is no reason why Hamlet should *imagine* the person blowing the hairs in his face instead of throwing them in his face. (Sh. probably thought possible to extract a handful of hairs by a very violent pull. Perhaps a married couple could give us an expert opinion on this. But Hamlet would naturally use hyperbolic language anyway.)

III, ii, 119.—Some scholars think "within's two hours" is for "within this two hours," and others think it is for "within these two hours." So they will probably admit that "let's alone" in *The Tempest,* IV, i, 257, may be for "let this alone" or "let these alone." If "this' or "these" would be contracted to *'s* after *n,* it would be even more likely to be so after *t*. For other suggestions see Furness.

The New Cambridge Shakspere emends to "lets all on." *III, iv, 18-22.*—

> *Hamlet.* Come, come, and sit you down; you shall not budge:
> You go not till I set you up a glass
> Where you may see the inmost part of you.
> *Queen.* What wilt thou do? Thou wilt not murder me?
> Help, help, ho!

Sprague: "Is Hamlet so furious that she really fears for her life?"

I do not think any special explanation is required here. It is enough that Hamlet is mad and that he is laying his hands on her. But may I suggest that perhaps the Queen takes Hamlet's last remark, about showing her the inmost part of herself, to mean that he intends to cut her trunk open with a glass in front of her, etc.? She could hardly guess what Hamlet really meant, and the words taken literally would represent an idea very likely to occur to a madman.

IV, iii, 40.—"as": either "in the same manner (*i.e.* dearly) as" or "at the same time as (in apparent contradiction)."

IV, vii, 27.—Clark and Wright: "If I may praise what she was, not what she is." The principle that we should not extol what people used to be, especially when the reason why they are no longer so is insanity (as in this case), I never came across till I read the notes of the commentators on this passage. Laertes never praised his sister while she was sane to appreciate it. The meaning is, "If praises can do her any good now." To do so they would have to go back in time. This interpretation will remind readers of II, ii, 201-202: " . . . you yourself, sir, should be old as I am, if like a crab you could go backward."

IV, vii, 111-124.—I think it is quite necessary to adopt Seymour's emendation in line 120. The "This 'should'" in line 123 cannot be explained by any interpretation unless we adopt "should" in line 120. *Cf.* IV, v, 66.

Clark and Wright thus explain 123-124: "The meaning is that the mere recognition of a duty without the will to perform it, while it satisfies for a moment, enfeebles the

moral nature." Moberly: "He who vainly acknowledges that he 'should' have done a thing is like a spendthrift sighing for his squandered estate." Clark and Wright and Moberly are wrong because the recognition of a duty does not ease one. "While it satisfies for a moment," in Clark and Wright's paraphrase, is mere juggling with words. A man may *be satisfied with* recognizing a duty in the sense of not determining to do any more than recognize the duty. But that does not mean that the recognition of the duty *eases* him.

I think the meaning is, "That which it is our duty to do we should do while we are inclined to do it. For if we wait we may become no longer inclined to do it, and then to discharge our duty we will have to do that which we are not inclined to do. The discharge of the duty will ease our conscience, but will be disagreeable—just as sighing eases the mind, but hurts the heart. But if we had done it while we were inclined to do it the discharge of the duty would have eased our conscience and been agreeable at the same time." It is Laertes' duty to avenge his father; and he is inclined to do it from passion. If he does it now the act will ease his conscience and be agreeable at the same time. Whereas if he waits passion may subside and then the act that will ease his conscience will be disagreeable.

IV, vii, 166.—Even the staunchest advocates of F1 do not accept its reading here. It means "so fast they insist on following." There is no more objection to "so fast they'll follow" than to "That song tonight will not go from my mind" (*Oth.*, IV, iii, 36-37). It should be preferred because it is much more probable that a Q2 scribe or the Q2 printer dropped the *'l* intentionally or by mistake than that a F1 scribe or the F1 printer inserted it.

V, i, 126.—Hamlet should have conjectured from the grave-maker's replies that a child was to be buried in the grave. The argument that Hamlet could tell from its size that it was not for a child is specious, because that might make it improbable that a child was to be buried in it, but could not preclude the possibility, whereas the grave-maker's replies are conclusive.

V, ii, 7.—I think very probably Tschischwitz gives the right punctuation, but does not interpret the passage correctly. It means "For let us know it, that," etc. For the object placed thus *cf.* I, v, 138.

V, ii, 29.—As the Elizabethans often used "with" for "by" the reading of the early editions can mean "finding myself in the midst of a net drawn around me by villains." Therefore I think emendation is unquestionably unnecessary.

V, ii, 240.—Every edition I have consulted reads "brother's." I think it should be "this brothers' wager," because the meaning is "a wager as friendly as one between brothers."

V, ii, 254-314—Typical modern comments are: Bradley: "The 'union' was the pearl which Claudius professed to throw into the cup, and in place of which (as Hamlet supposes) he dropped poison in." Chambers: "The so-called 'union' is doubtless poison in reality." Dowden: "Pearl: in fact the poison."

If the king does not drop a union into the wine, what does he expect Hamlet to do when he drinks the wine and finds no union? Hamlet is going to die unexpectedly and it would not do for him to tell the king in front of everyone that there is no pearl in the cup. When this difficulty can be so easily avoided by really dropping a union into the wine, why should the king not do so? Perhaps he drops union and poison in at the same time or drops in a union endued with poison (*cf.* Laertes' anointed sword). Hamlet's "Is thy union here?" makes nothing against this interpretation. It is distinctly possible that Shakspere is guilty by oversight of the absurdity imputed to him by the above critics, but an editor has no right to say flatly that he is.*

*For the following comments *cf.* my articles in *PQ XI* (1932), 359-373; and *XII*, 360-376. Perhaps in *Lear*, I, ii, 107, we should read "all-ruinous"; *cf.* "all-oblivious" and "all-triumphant." I must withdraw my interpretation of I, iv, 31-32, because *N.E.D.* gives no instance of this meaning earlier than 1715. It may be objected to my interpretation of I, v, 7-12, that an Elizabethan audience would naturally think "slipshod" meant "wearing slippers" if used in connection with "kibes." But the mention of a man's wits being in his heels would make an Elizabethan audience think the point of the joke to be that Lear's wit was in his heels, not that he had no wit at all. Thus Singer's interpretation is open to the same objection as mine, and in addition it cannot be inferred from the Fool's words that Lear has no wit.

"Course," III, iv, 55, may be a misreading of "curse" as well as an old spelling. Cases in which a minim letter is read as two are more numerous than one would expect. If it is an old spelling it may be due to a transcriber as well as to Shakspere. The quotation from *Othello* is very strong, because *King Lear* contains many echoes of *Othello*. To determine which word was most probably intended by Shakspere we must wait to see what parallel passages can be adduced, but retaining "course" in the text gives the reader his choice.

It is not necessary to suppose that "Hough" was read as "Rough" in *Oth.,* I, iii, 164. If the transcriber could not make out the first letter, the others (*ough*) would lead him to conjecture "Rough" readily. As stated, even if the word was plainly "Hough" a transcriber would be likely to conjecture "Rough," because the spelling "Hough" was not usual at that time. The passage plainly requires a word meaning "vast" or "deep," and no word which means this could become "Rough," except "Hough."

Perhaps the transcriber read "forthe" as "for ile," and put down "for Ile" (III, i, 21).

Chicago, Illinois.

EDITORIAL COMMENT AND REVIEWS

By S. A. T.

A meeting of the Board of Directors of The Shakespeare Association of America was held on June 25th of this year at number 15 East 51st Street, in New York City, Dr. Rosenbach presiding. The officers of the Association presented their annual reports; that of the Treasurer is printed in another part of this Bulletin.

It was unanimously decided that the Association hold an annual meeting at some hotel in New York on the third Tuesday in November, and that members of the Association shall be invited to read original papers of Shaksperian interest at that meeting.

It was also decided that in the future writers of the longer essays published in the Bulletin shall be given a dozen reprints of their papers gratis.

The following were elected Honorary Vice-Presidents of the Association: Professor Lyman G. Kittredge, Professor Hyder E. Rollins, Professor Roland B. Lewis, Hon. James M. Beck, Dr. Eleanor G. Clark, and Mr. Frank Gilmore.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, president; Mrs. James M. Bass, first vice-president; Professor John H. Lyon, second vice-president; Miss Myra B. Martin, third vice-president; Mr. George W. Davison, treasurer; Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum, secretary, corresponding secretary, and editor of the Bulletin.

The following were elected members of the Board of Directors for the class of 1938: George W. Davison, John E. Hannigan, John H. Lyon, Miss Charlotte E. Porter, and A. S. W. Rosenbach.

Members who have papers on Shaksperian topics which they wish to read or to have read at the November meeting will please communicate with the secretary as soon as possible. (It is planned to hold two sessions, one in the afternoon and one in the evening.) Papers should not be too long, and copies of the papers should be sent to the secretary who will invite members to discuss them.

The November meeting will also include a dinner and an entertainment consisting of a Shaksperian program. The dinner will probably not cost more than $2 per person.

Now more than ever we must have more members, not only because the dues will help to maintain the Bulletin and to pay for reprints we shall give our writers, but because a large membership will give the Association that influence and prestige which are necessary to enable us to work for and obtain the theatre, library, and home which are our ultimate goal.

It gives us pleasure to announce that the Shakespeare Society of Hunter College, in the City of New York, under the able and industrious direction of Dr. Elizabeth Stein, is preparing to put on a memorable presentation of *Hamlet* sometime this fall. Knowing Dr. Stein as we do, we look forward to an interesting and intelligent performance. The actors, we are informed, will all be professionals. Our Board of Directors has voted to act as patron to this ambitious undertaking.

The University of Pennsylvania Press has just published an elegant booklet in celebration of the presentation of a bust of Professor Felix E.

Schelling to the University. The life of Dr. Schelling is sketched enthusiastically by two of his associates, Professor Arthur H. Quinn and Dr. Matthew W. Black. Then follows a bibliography of all of Dr. Schelling's contributions to English literature from 1889 to 1934, the time of his retirement from the teaching staff of the University. The bust, the work of Beatrice Fenton, was presented by Provost Josiah H. Penniman and accepted by President Thomas S. Gates. All lovers of Dr. Schelling—and who that knows him does not love him?—will want a copy of the little book.[1]

One of the most important and most satisfactory scholarly works recently published is Dr. Alfred Harbage's book on Sir William Davenant.[2] Dr. Harbage is an enthusiastic admirer of Davenant and has made a very careful and authoritative study of one of the most important poet-dramatists who succeeded Shakspere. We are grateful to him for repeating all the arguments which can now be mustered to disprove the scandal about Davenant's being the illegitimate son of the Bard of Avon, even though this deprives us of one of the sensational "facts" in Shakspere's biography. Dr. Harbage's bibliography of matter relating to Davenant is undoubtedly the best that has yet been prepared, but we miss a number of items, to wit: E. J. Dent's essay on "Purcell and *The Siege of Rhodes*" in his *Foundation of English Opera* (1928), pages 43-77; Bolton Corney's note on Sir W. D. and Shakspere (in Notes and Queries, July 6, 1868); W. Bates's note on the elegy on Sir W. D. (in Notes and Queries, June 18, 1870); Miss R. M. Clark's manuscript thesis (Columbia University, 1911) on "Sir W. D. and his Relations to the English Stage"; E. F. Rimbault's note on a "Ballad Upon W. D.'s Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru" (in Notes and Queries, Jan. 20, 1872); F. Laig's dissertation, *Englische u. französische Elemente in W. D.'s dramatische Kunst* (1934); and J. W. Tupper's edition of *'Love and Honour' and 'The Siege of Rhodes'* (1909). It would also have been well, we think, to include a reference to *English Literary Autographs, 1550-1650,* for the benefit of those who might wish to familiarize themselves with Davenant's handwriting. On page 302 the name "Schmerback" is an error for "Schmerbach" and "Verhaltnis" should be "Verhältnis."

Another valuable work[3] published by the University of Pennsylvania Press, a book which has been in the making since 1913, is Dr. Mason's exhaustive treatise on "courtesy" books current in Shakspere's day and for more than a century after him. A great deal has been written on this important topic, especially during the recent past, even though it may seriously be doubted whether books on conduct and manners ever exerted any real influence on the character, behavior, and personalities of their readers. They probably had as little influence on children, adolescents, and adults as the wily Polonius's advice had on the perfidious Laertes, who was no doubt a typical specimen of Elizabethan gentry. From a literary and from a sociologic

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[1] *Felix E. Schelling;* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia; pp. viii, 30, frontispiece, $1.

[2] *Sir William Davenant: Poet-Venturer, 1606-1668,* Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1935, pp. viii, 318, portrait, $3.

[3] *Gentlefolk in the Making: Studies in the History of English Courtesy Literature and Related Topics from 1531 to 1774,* by John E. Mason; Philadelphia, 1935, pp. xiv, 394, illustrated, $4.

viewpoint, however, these books are, no doubt, deserving of some study; they show us what the people pretended to be; history shows what they really were.

Dr. Mason's book will undoubtedly be the authoritative work on the subject for a long time to come. He has done his work patiently, thoroughly, accurately, and understandingly. The book, regrettably printed in such small type as to repel a general reader, is illustrated with seventeen very fine facsimiles; and we are promised an early publication of a bibliography and a subject index of the entire work.

A handsome volume[4] to which we wish to call the attention of our members as well as of librarians is the work of Dr. Kennard of the Sorbonne, Paris. The book, written by an expert in the field and a skilled writer, deals with the unceasingly fascinating subject of the Italian Commedia dell' Arte. General readers will find it as interesting as instructive, and specialists will enjoy refreshing their impressions and adding to their knowledge. Twenty-two half-tone plates, two pertaining to *Othello,* in addition to a portrait of the author, accompany the book and add to its value. The book lacks a bibliography but has an index.

For the student of the theatre, especially of the Elizabethan theatre, no more important book has been published recently than Mr. William J. Lawrence's *Those Nut-Cracking Elizabethans: Studies of the Early Theatre and Drama* (London: The Argonaut Press, pages xii + 212, 10s. 6d). All of the fourteen essays which comprise this book have been previously published but they have since then been revised or rewritten, and one or two, we are told, have been expanded "beyond recognition." Eight illustrations accompany the volume, the frontispiece being the diagram of an Elizabethan public theatre which was published in this Bulletin two or three years ago. The subjects dealt with by Dr. Lawrence, in his customary lucid and entertaining way, are the Elizabethan nut-cracking audience, Shakspere's use of animals (and exclusion of horses from the stage), the rise and progress of the Elizabethan private playhouse (the precursor of the modern theatre), Shakspere's supers, the dumbshow (Mr. Lawrence may be right in calling it the "Dumb Show") in *Hamlet,* bearers to carry the dead off the stage, the use of bells in Elizabethan drama, the evolution of the tragic carpet (which some actors almost chewed up in their passion), and stage furniture. Besides these topics, Dr. Lawrence discusses the wedding of poetry and song, the secret of the 'bad quartos' (which will probably continue to be a secret to the end of time), double titles in Elizabethan drama, Francis Bacon's comments on masques and triumphs, and, finally, Philip Massinger's punctuation and its bearing on the (to us) preposterous notion that Shakspere employed a rhetorical (instead of a grammatical) system of punctuation and that this is manifest in the printing of the Folio and in some of the Quartos.

Will the writer of the essay on "Ghost technique in Shakspere" please disclose his identity to us? To our great regret the letter he must have written with his essay was lost or misplaced before we assumed editorial functions.

Once again we make the announcement that the pages of the Bulletin are open to all members of the Association and to any others who have anything to say about Shakspere, his con-

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[4] *Masks and Marionettes,* by Joseph S. Kennard; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1935, pp. xii, 130, illustrated, $3.50.

temporaries, his environment, and his influence.

We should also greatly appreciate information about Shaksperian performances, professional and amateur, being given anywhere within this realm of America.

In expressing our thanks to Mr. M. H. Spielmann for lending us the plate from which the frontispiece for this issue of the Bulletin is printed, we wish to express our regrets that we had to return to him unused several other interesting Shaksperian plates which he so kindly sent us. The U. S. customs authorities, in their august commercial wisdoms, insisted on regarding as "merchandise" Mr. Spielmann's half-tone plates, assessing them at $98 (we doubt that they cost one-fifth of that amount), and demanding a tax of $24.98! If our Association got its money as easily and as certainly as the holders of government jobs do we would have paid the duty; as things are we could not. We argued with the appraiser but could not move him. We did not have the time to see our district leader.

A book with which we are thoroughly out of sympathy has just reached us. It is entitled *Shakespeare's 'The Tempest': An Allegorical Interpretation,* and is the work of the late Mrs. Emma Brockway Wagner (deceased in 1931) whose unpublished manuscript and notes were entrusted to Dr. Hugh R. Orr, assistant professor of English in the Municipal University of Omaha. The book, handsomely issued by the Antioch Press at Yellow Springs, Ohio, proposes to convince readers that, "incredible as it may seem," the true meaning of Shakspere's play was first discovered by Mrs. Wagner. According to the author *The Tempest,* under the guise of allegory, is "a violent protest against the ignorance, superstitions and corruptions of the time,—a scathing arraignment of the institutions, religious and secular, which fostered and perpetuated them." Prospero represents complete intellectuality, the thinking, understanding mind with its crowning faculty: reason; his "books" symbolize scientific knowledge; Miranda "is easily recognized" as the symbol of the Christian ideal, especially of compassion and humility; Gonzalo typifies conscience (though he did nothing to prevent or frustrate the dastardly crime against intellectuality and the Christian ideal!), gentleness, and courtesy; Ferdinand and Claribel represent noble manhood and womanhood; the tempest on the sea is emblematic of the storm of the Reformation; Ferdinand stands also for the pioneering spirit and pride; Ariel personifies the spirit of man, spiritual imagination; the knot in which he had been imprisoned was paganism; Sycorax represents pagan superstition and witchcraft (as to this "there seems no possible room for doubt"); "Caliban, the child of Sycorax, personifies the paganization of Christianity," intolerance, and religious fanaticism, reason, and the traditional devil (from India!); sack symbolizes the wine of tradition; Caliban's tortures (inflicted by Prospero) symbolize mental delusions; Caliban takes his name from ritual cannibalism; the jerkin identifies the sacrificed victim in pagan cannibalism; the jerkin is below the line, *i.e.,* not up to the level of the times; a fish symbolizes a pagan deity (we recall Caliban's fish-like smell); in Caliban's "troll the catch" the word "troll" is used because the troll "is a terrible cannibalistic evil spirit"; the "thunderbolt" from which Caliban suffered was the intellectual thunderbolt of the Reformation; Caliban is

proved to be the devil because Stephano addresses him as "cat"; Trinculo personifies amusements in general, the drama, and the theatre; Stephano personifies selfishness; "the marriage of Claribel to the King of Tunis symbolizes the social degradation consequent upon the political and religious corruption which followed the union of Church and State"; and the magic island is the island of the mind.

That we do not accept a single word of this allegorical interpretation goes without saying. Shakspere was not a contriver of jigsaw puzzles, and he would not have written a play for a Jacobean audience which had to wait till *c.* 1930 for its interpretation.

THE INCEPTION OF OTHELLO'S JEALOUSY

Many who make a study of how Shakspere produces his effects, how the great magician works his tricks, and think that they have found the answer, protest that the Stratford wizard has failed utterly in making Othello's jealousy plausible. They think that to produce his theatrical effects the poet has violated probability, has outraged psychology, and has vitiated the portraiture of his protagonist. An honorable gentleman, a distinguished soldier, a man who is himself so honest that he thinks all others honest, say they, would not so quickly have succumbed to the scoundrelly Iago's gross insinuations regarding Desdemona. Apart from Iago's words, they insist, Othello has not the slightest particle of justification for mistrusting his beloved wife's fidelity.

To take this position these scholars and critics deliberately ignore some facts of the first importance in the evolution of Shakspere's plot. They attach no significance to the fact that the evolution of the story has been managed so that Desdemona pleads for Cassio's return to his lost post and to her husband's favor just after Iago had thrown out the first hint that something was wrong. Nor do they stop to think that Desdemona's character (as portrayed by herself in III, iii, 21-28) is such that she presses her suit to her husband with such vehemency and importunacy (lines 46-84) as to acquire tremendous significance when it is looked at in retrospect and in relation to other circumstances. The most significant of these facts is one which these critics of the Bard have wholly ignored: Cassio's hasty and furtive exit at line 34. Othello caught a glimpse only of his ex-lieutenant's hurried and stealthy departure by a side-door, but Iago—realizing that "accident" (determined by Cassio's character) had played into his hands—took advantage of the incident to manifest disapproval (line 35) and arouse Othello's curiosity. When Othello questions him about the identity of the fleeing figure (line 38), Iago very subtly suggests that there is something highly improper in Cassio's conduct ("I cannot think it, that he would *steal away, so guilty-like,* Seeing you coming"). Just then, when Othello's mind is in the clutch of this thought, Desdemona approaches him with her vehement suit, which, of course, a practised soldier ought not to grant. In her address to her lord, Desdemona is guilty not only of excessive zeal but of bad judgment: she presumes to tell him that Cassio's "trespass . . . is not almost a fault" and—what is much more serious and far-reaching—she reminds him that in times past Cassio had many times taken Othello's part 'when she had spoken of him dispraisingly.' These last words were not thrown in by Shakspere merely for good measure; they were intended to remind Othello as well as us of outraged Brabantio's accusations

of the thick-lipped and sooty-bosomed negro who, contrary to the laws of nature, had obtained his daughter's heart by foul means. It is significant that at this point Othello says: "Prithee, no more! Let him come when he will." That Othello is disturbed is sufficiently indicated by his repetition of the words "I will deny thee nothing!" and by his request that 'she leave him but a little to himself' (line 86), but even more by lines 19-93 ("Excellent wretch! Perdition catch my soul, But I do love thee!"). From a practical psychological viewpoint, *i.e.*, from the viewpoint of one who has more than merely theoretical preconceptions regarding the behavior of human beings, it may be confidently asserted that in the foregoing facts Shakspere has laid a perfectly solid foundation for the inception of jealousy in a person like Othello.

But it must not be inferred from this that we regard Shakspere as a psychologist in the modern sense of the word. He was not, in our opinion, a trained or conscious and deliberate psychologist; he did not anticipate the views of the behaviorists, or of the psycho-analysts, or of the "Gestalt" psychologists, etc. But he was an amazingly accurate observer of certain psychological phenomena, as may be proved—objectively and beyond the shadow of a doubt—by his unique introduction of slips of the tongue into his plays. For all that, the most that anyone can say with a due regard to facts is that Shakspere had a more accurate knowledge of human nature, human motives, and human foibles than any literary man that ever put pen to paper. But, of course, this does not mean that he was not enough of the showman occasionally to sacrifice psychologic truth on the altar of dramatic necessity.

SHAKESPEARE ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

Treasurer's Report, June 20, 1935

General Account

Receipts		
Balance as of April 30, 1935		$1,622.66
Dues and Bulletin Subscriptions		282.07
		$1,904.73
Disbursements		
Secretary's Account	$17.54	
Shakespeare's Birthday Celebration	15.25	
Printing of Bulletin	207.40	
	$240.19	
Balance General Account	$1,664.54	
Building Fund	$100.00	

Carnegie Bibliography Fund

Receipts		
Balance April 30, 1935	$1,631.01	
Disbursements		
Secretary's Account	8.77	
Printing of Bulletin	103.70	
	$112.47	
Balance Carnegie Fund	$1,518.54	
Total Balance	$3,283.08	